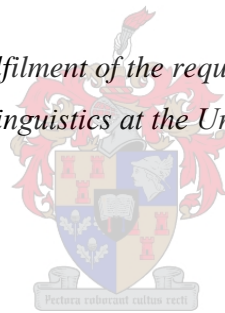


Racialised discourse in the former Model C School: Discourse of exclusion and inclusion

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Master's in General Linguistics at the University of Stellenbosch*



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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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December 2016

Abstract

This thesis reports on racialised discourse in a former Model C school in the Northern Suburbs of the Western Cape. The primary areas of investigation were surrounding the discourses of inclusion and exclusion as perceived by the students in the school. The data was collected in a transformed school, in which the coloured students constitute the majority in terms of number, and the white and black students the minority. An ethnographic approach (Creese 2008) towards data collection was taken, where classroom interviews and focus group interviews were used. This allowed for multiple voices to be expressed in terms of different and contradicting discourses. The thesis uses Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis as applied to classroom discourse (Baxter 2008) as a main analytical tool. In this thesis, I argue that the biggest contributor towards the theorisation of 'race' is one's social environment, as the issues experienced by the students in terms of 'race' can all be attributed to dominating teachers' role definitions (Cummins 1997), parental influence and educational structures. The findings of this study suggest that the black and coloured students feel a strong sense of exclusion from the predominantly white Afrikaans staff of the school. The findings also show that students exclude themselves from one another by organising their social spaces around them in terms of 'race', where language and culture stand proxy for this concept. The students also presented opinions on the need for transformation in terms of how 'race' is incorporated into the curriculum and into educational structures such as language policies and tertiary education admission policies. The issue of 'whiteness' in the new South Africa came forth, in which I noticed that white students are further subdividing themselves into 'intra-white' groups, namely white Afrikaans and white English. I therefore call for more research to be carried out on the issue of changing white identity in the post-apartheid classroom.

Opsomming

In hierdie tesis word daar verslag gelewer oor rasgedrewe diskoers in 'n voormalige Model C-skool in die Noordelike Voorstede van die Wes-Kaap. Die primêre areas van ondersoek was rondom die diskoerse van insluiting en uitsluiting soos waargeneem deur die studente in die skool. Die data is ingesamel in 'n getransformeerde skool met bruin studente in die meerderheid in terme van getalle, en wit- en swart studente die minderheid in terme van getalle. 'n etnografiese benadering (Creese 2008) ten opsigte van die data insameling is gebruik waartydens klaskamer-onderhoude sowel as fokus-groeponderhoude gevoer is. Dit het voorsiening gemaak vir veelvuldige opinies in terme van verskillende sowel as teenstrydige diskoerse. Die tesis gebruik Feministiese Poststrukuralistiese Diskoersanalise, soos toegepas op klaskamer diskoers (Baxter 2008), as 'n hoof analitiese instrument. In hierdie tesis, voer ek die argument aan dat die grootste bydrae tot die teoretisering van 'ras', 'n persoon se sosiale omgewing is. Aspekte wat deur studente ervaar word in terme van 'ras', kan toegeskryf word aan die dominerende onderwyser roldefinisies (Cummins 1997), ouer-invloed en opvoedkundige strukture. Die bevindinge van hierdie studie dui daarop dat die swart en die bruin studente uitgesluit voel deur die oorwegende wit Afrikaanssprekende personeel van die skool. Die bevindinge toon ook dat studente uitsluiting bevorder deur hul sosiale ruimtes te organiseer volgens ras, waar taal en kultuur in die plek staan van ras. Die studente het ook menings oor die behoefte aan transformasie in terme van hoe 'ras' opgeneem is in die taalbeleid, kurrikulum en in opvoedkundige strukture soos beleid, taal en tersiêre onderrig-toelatingsbeleid. Die kwessie van 'witheid' in die nuwe Suid-Afrika het uitgekom, waarin ek opgemerk het dat wit studente hulself verder onderverdeel in 'intra-wit' groepe — wit Afrikaans en Engels wit. Daarom vra ek dat meer navorsing gedoen moet word oor die kwessie van die verandering van die wit identiteit in die post-apartheid klaskamer.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Background to the study

Diversity in South Africa, like in other African countries, is the norm. However, diversity is not only a feature of life in Africa or Asia. In the European context, diversity has become a more pressing issue, which has led sociologists such as Steve Vertovec (2007) to coin the term “super-diversity” to refer to the extreme multilingual and multicultural status of Britain after the influx of migrants into Britain after the 1990s. When there is a presence of “super-diversity” in a country, this can pose a challenge for the educational system, as diversity is often not seen as a resource that can be utilised, but rather as a problem to overcome. This type of attitude can have detrimental effects on teaching and learning outcomes and on the way in which students view themselves and others in the educational context. In a previous study, my results pointed out, like many other studies, that in the South African educational system diversity is treated as an obstacle rather than a resource, and that this is detrimental to the way in which students learn and are taught.

In this previous study, I was primarily concerned with the discursive construction of identity and about the discourse of inclusion and exclusion in a former Model C school. In this study, I conducted a semi-structured focus group interview with 8 student participants who did not belong to the dominant linguistic and cultural group at this school. All the students were between 16 to 18 years of age and they attended school and resided in the Western Cape. All of the participants had an African language as their first language and English or Afrikaans was their second or third languages.

In my analysis of this data, the following were my conclusions: Dominant coercive relations of power, which Cummins (1997) refers to as the dominant relationship that the mainstream culture in society has over the non-mainstream culture, played a major role in the participants’ discourse. The narratives of these students showed that the participants construct power relations as entangled with language, access to the dominant culture, and race. The data also showed that the discursive references outside academia – for example, the references that teachers used as a resource to relate academia to the life of students – were often an exclusionary device rather than inclusionary. This finding is similar to that of Duff’s

(2004) findings, that the reference to mainstream pop culture references excluded minority groups in Canada from the classroom discourse. The final observation that was made was one that motivated me to carry on with this field of research. The participants revealed that their identities were negatively impacted by other stakeholders in their educational environment, such as their peers and educators; in other words they felt that they could not “be themselves” but had to assimilate in order to fit in.

The participants were also afraid that their “black accent” might come back when speaking in class. What this suggests, is that the culturally diverse students attempt to hide aspects of their cultural identity, such as accents, in order to prevent the embarrassment of being laughed at in the classroom. In order for the student to save face, the student chooses to become “invisible and inaudible” (Cummins 1997:107) by keeping quiet in the classroom setting. There were also assumptions made by students who formed part of the mainstream culture, that the black student is not able to speak Afrikaans. These negative attitudes and stereotypes from the mainstream culture, that are influenced by the dominant coercive relations of power that exist in the macro-environment¹, do not just negatively impact the identity of these minority students, but it also affects their participation in the classroom which has a detrimental effect on their academic performance.

Another issue that was observed was the fact that the conversation revolving around linguistic and cultural diversity automatically moved towards race, without me as the researcher introducing the topic. Seemingly, the topic of race was an underlying theme brought up by the participants during the interview. It is here that I realised that, after 21 years of democracy in South Africa, race is still an issue and it plays a greater role in the South African classroom. Therefore, for this study, I aimed to engage with the theorisation of race by paying close attention to how race is linguistically constructed in the discourse of learners in the South African classroom. In this study, I will go on to show how linguistic analysis (in the case of this study, discourse analysis) is a very useful research tool. By analysing language and the way that it is expressed, it can be demonstrated that the study of discourse is essential to show that language is “central in constructing identity and in constructing as well as reflecting social change” (McKinney 2007a:215).

¹ One’s macro-environment refers to the historic, political, economic and cultural issues that form part of the greater society. All these factors have an effect on one’s micro-environment, which refers to the individual and his/her immediate influences such as family, friends as well as school interactions (Pavlenko 2007:175).

2. Problem statement

The topic of cultural and linguistic diversity, although recognised in South Africa, is rarely investigated in the South African educational context. Students that do not form part of the mainstream culture in schools feel excluded in the classroom setting. Based on my previous research project, as explained above, three main areas were identified which caused the sense of exclusion. Firstly, the teachers' dominant coercive relations of power that are brought into the classroom, the mainstream culture students' negative attitude towards the students from the non-mainstream culture, as well as the reading and writing practices employed in the classroom. Students that formed part of the non-mainstream culture had difficulty relating to the reading and the writing practices employed in the classroom and for examination purposes. This seemed evident when dealing with poetry, literature and even essay topics.

The sense of exclusion that the non-mainstream culture students experience in the educational setting is an issue that needs more exploration. Now that I have identified problem areas for the non-mainstream culture students, I will use these topics to further investigate from a discourse analytical perspective the linguistic construction of racial discourse in the classroom and educational setting. I will investigate how linguistic means are used when discussing the topic of cultural and linguistic diversity in education, from the perspective of non-mainstream culture students and mainstream culture students and from classroom observations.

3. Research question

1. How are issues of race and identity discursively constructed by students (black, coloured and white), by teachers and through classroom practices?
2. Do racial discourses differ when students are in a mixed-race setting to when they are separated by race, language or culture?

4. Research aim

The aim of this study is to provide insight to how race is talked about in a multicultural, multiracial and multilingual educational setting. I will investigate how issues of race and

identity are being discursively constructed by students of all races, by the teachers and through classroom practices. My aim is to analyse the way that students construct and navigate race on an everyday basis through their perceptions of the world around them. I would also like to investigate if and how racial discourses differ when students are in a mixed-race setting to when they are separated by race, language or culture.

5. Theoretical point of departure

Cultural and linguistic diversity, however apparent in South Africa, as shown in my previous study and in others involving this topic (cf. Duff 2004; McKinney 2007a, 2007b), does not seem to be portrayed in our education system. A mono-cultural education seems to be the mode in schools in South Africa, especially in former Model C schools. A mono-cultural education is the term used to describe an education that not only reflects the dominant culture, but it also describes an education that is biased towards the dominant culture (Nieto 2002: 36). Students that are part of the dominant group in society believe that their belief system and behaviour are the only ways of doing things. The dominant group in society exerts the belief that anything else that is different to them is ethnic or exotic. This creates a situation in which the dominant students see themselves as the norm, and the culturally diverse students see themselves as the deviation to the norm (Nieto 2002:39), which in turn may lead to cultural assimilation.

Assimilation is a dominating practice of integration in schools. The consequences of assimilation for subordinate groups are that the members of these groups are expected to give up their identities and cultures in order to acknowledge the superiority of the dominant culture, and “by implication, the identities of the groups into whose social context they are moving” (McKinney 2010:192). Soudien (2007) makes it clear that within South Africa’s education system, the ‘white’ middle class ways are projected as the superior or “as the unquestionable norm in the assimilation agendas in South Africa” (McKinney 2010:193). It is within this statement, that one can see that cultural diversity starts to be associated with race. One can also see how class, language and even culture are difficult to disentangle from race in South Africa.

In South Africa, the term “race” does not only conjure the idea of ethnicity, but rather it is linked to racism. Racism is the use of the concept ‘race’ in order to establish power

relationships by “using the value to denote categories of people as inferior or superior” (Mekoa 2011:104). This, however, is only one of the many definitions of the term “race”. This specific definition of racism, which will be employed through this thesis, was chosen due to the fact that I was interested in further researching the coercive power relations that still exist in our society. According to Mekoa (2011:104), racism is a “socio-economic and political mechanism that justifies treating fellow human beings as ‘other’”. One common idea of racism in South Africa is that racism has biological validity. This is, however, not at all the case. Rather, race is socially constructed and it is ever-changing (Mekoa 2011:104).

Race and racism have always been a part of South Africa’s educational system. The country’s history of education is filled with policies and laws such as the Bantu Education Act (1953) which led to the segregation of schools in terms of race. Race and racism are not only impacting society as a whole, but are also entrenched in the educational sector², impacting areas such as student learning, teaching practices and also students’ identities. It is therefore crucial to analyse the manner in which South Africans talk about race in order to develop social and educational policies. Furthermore, in this study I will discuss the importance of linguistic analysis by comparing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with Baxter’s (2008) account of Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA), the analytical tool of choice for this study.

6. Research design

My data was collected from a former Model C school situated within the Western Cape. This school is bilingual, with the two primary languages being English and Afrikaans. The minority group in the school, according to student numbers, is the ‘white’ middle class and the dominant group is the ‘coloured’³ middle class, however there are quite a few students in the school who are African. The school’s demographics differ to those of the school researched in the previous study. In the previous school, the coloured and black students were the minority students in terms of numbers. I thought it would be interesting to see whether

² 2015 has been filled with news headlines of student protests occurring at higher educational institutions. At the University of Cape Town (UCT), the “Rhodes Must Fall” movement began which consisted of students and staff members who were mobilising for direct action against institutional racism at UCT. Open Stellenbosch, a group formed at Stellenbosch University, is fighting against the use of Afrikaans in the classroom and is calling for greater transformation in terms of language policies and staff employment.

³ In the case of this study, the term “coloured” refers to those students who are mixed race. The term “African” is used to refer to black students.

similar discourse would surface in a school where the coloured students were the majority, and the black and white students were the minority in terms of number. Similar studies on the topic of race and diversity in the classroom (e.g. McKinney 2007b, Mekoa 2011) have focused on environments in which black students are in the majority in terms of number. I chose to investigate an environment in which a former Model C school has transformed to the extent that coloured students, not black students, are now the majority in terms of number, and both black and white students are in the minority. I wanted to investigate whether the discourse on power relations would differ if both white and black students were viewed as part of the minority in the school in terms of number.

The reason behind this path of investigation is due to the fact that in recent years, the term “coloured”, when compared to other racial categories, has been a largely contested category in South Africa. This can be seen with some coloured elites and intellectuals preferring to label themselves as “black” in an attempt to move away from the term “coloured”. The coloured population in South Africa seems to be struggling with their identity, as the term “coloured” straddles “fragmentation, uncertainty, and confusion, comprising a floating signifier, available to capture multiple positioning and stand proxy for a variety of social expression in ways similar to its construction in apartheid era of South Africa” (Williams and Stroud 2014:278).

The data collection for this study was of an ethnographic nature (Denscombe 2010), which included observations and interviews as data collection instruments. Two sets of interviews were conducted: the first of these interviews were classroom interviews that were done with two different Grade 12 English classes. These classes were selected under the advisement of the principal as to which classes are the most linguistically and culturally diverse. Each class was interviewed twice and the interviews took place during the school’s “off period” on Friday mornings. This ensured that no academic time was used for this research project. From the classes in question, the students were asked to volunteer to continue the discussion on the topic of linguistic and cultural diversity in the form of focus groups. These unstructured interviews were conducted after school hours. Focus group interviews were conducted with a group of students from both the dominant and subordinate groups (in terms of number) within the school. The questions that were used in the interviews were structured in a manner that allowed for the topic of race to be brought up naturally, so as to allow for a free flow of conversation without prompting students to talk about race explicitly.

The last step of data collection was field observations. I observed how the students integrated during break times. I used these filed notes that were based on my observations when I analysed the data from all my interviews. In terms of data analysis, I used FPDA as utilised by Baxter (2002, 2008) in the analysis of classroom discourse.

7. Overview of thesis chapters

The thesis will be structured as follows: in Chapter 2, I will provide a brief history of race in education in South Africa. I will separate the history into two eras – race in education pre-apartheid and during the apartheid era, and then race in education in a post-apartheid South Africa.

In Chapter 3, I will expand on the concept of ‘race’ in South Africa. I will engage with literature about “race” and how this term was and is used pre- and post-apartheid. I will discuss how race is often entangled with linguistic and cultural diversity; these latter concepts will also be expanded on. I will discuss how the dominant coercive relations of power that exist in South Africa as well as in our educational system have an effect on the identity of the non-mainstream culture. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of how the issue of “race” has an impact on the identity of students.

In Chapter 4, I will give a more detailed description of the methodology used in my study. I will expand on the use of, and my decision to use, an ethnographic approach to data collection. I will explain my data collection and selection process, and expand on the use of the unstructured interview as my primary research tool. I will also touch on my method of analysis.

In Chapter 5, I will expand on my method of discourse analysis, poststructuralist discourse analysis. I discuss poststructuralist discourse as applied to classroom discourse by Baxter (2002, 2008).

Chapter 6 will involve the analysis and discussion of the data. Here, I will set out to answer both research questions by analysing the two different sets of data. I will analyse the classroom interview data, where the students are in a group that is mixed in terms of race, language and culture, and the focus group interview data, where the students were separated by race. By analysing both sets of data together, it will allow for the illustration of the

differences between the classroom and focus group discourse and when these differences occurred.

Chapter 8 will conclude the findings of the research and will offer a discussion on the primary findings of my research.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF RACE IN EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. Introduction

This chapter will expand more on the notion of ‘race’, historically and in South Africa. I will then expand on the history of race in education in South Africa. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that the culture of separation that seems to be apparent in South African schools today stems from the very beginning of formal education in South Africa. It is necessary to state that this chapter is not one depicting the history of apartheid in South Africa, but more on the effects of how the country’s history had a major impact on the country’s educational system. This historical account of events is necessary in this study as it provides background into the discourse surrounding issues of race, language and culture before and after apartheid. The history of race in education in South Africa has been covered in many of the readings consulted for this literature review (see McKinney 2007a, 2007b, 2011; Mafumu 2010) with all making primary reference to Soudien’s (2007) work on this topic. In this section, I primarily consult Soudien’s (2007) extensive research on this topic and I will discuss the history of race in education in South Africa over three primary eras, namely the pre-apartheid, apartheid and the post-apartheid eras.

2. The conceptualisation of ‘race’

In order to gain insight into the concept of ‘race’, I chose to delve into the field of philosophy on this topic. In my research, I came upon an article written by James (2008:1) titled “Race”. In this article, he states that race has historically referred to a concept which has created a pattern in which humanity has been divided into smaller groups that are based on the following five criteria:

- (1) Races reflect some type of biological foundation [...];
- (2) This biological foundation generates discrete racial groupings, such that all and only all members of one race share a set of biological characteristics that are not shared by members of other races;
- (3) This biological foundation is inherited from generation to generation, allowing observers to identify an individual’s race through her ancestry or genealogy;

(4) Genealogical investigation should identify each race's geographic origin, typically in Africa, Europe, Asia, or North and South America; and (5) This inherited racial biological foundation manifests itself primarily in physical phenotypes, such as skin colour, eye shape, hair texture, and bone structure, and perhaps also behavioural phenotypes, such as intelligence or delinquency.

James (2008) later mentions Lawrence Blum's (2002) arguments on how the above description on how race is used to divide humanity into smaller groups is strongly connected to the problem of racism. Blum (2002) argues that the concept of 'racism' is influenced by the biological definition of "race", and that it can be divided into two groups, namely 'inferiorization' and 'antipathy'. "Inferiorization" refers to the vilification of a specific group based on their supposed biological inferiority. "Antipathy", on the other hand, refers to the sense of hatred or hostility towards another group based purely on their biological traits. James (2008:1) mentions that:

these two moral sins deserve this heightened level of condemnation associated with the term racism, because they violate moral norms of "respect, equality, and dignity" and because they are historically connected to extreme and overt forms of racial oppression.

In relation to South Africa, it is evident that this has indeed been the case. Sociologists share similar views on the matter of 'race'. A popular view on the topic of race in modern times is the 'social constructivist' views. These group of thinkers believe that 'race' is explained by the belief that "a classification based on skin colour [...] is a pseudo-biological concept that has been used to justify and rationalize the unequal treatment of groups of people by others" (Faucher and Machery 2005:1208). However, sociologists take the concept of 'race' one step further by expressing that cultural evolution plays a major role in the theorisation of 'race'. Faucher and Machery (2005) state that race is a concept that is shaped by one's social environment and that one's perceptions of race are culturally transmitted.

I include these two accounts of the concept of race, as my perceptions of race agree with both views. I believe that 'race' is a biological construct that is unavoidable, and I agree strongly with the fact that one's perception of 'race' is indeed strongly influenced by one's immediate social environment, such as friends and more specifically family. In South Africa, I feel that studies on the cultural evolution of 'race' are necessary in order to begin the process of disentangling 'race' as a biological construct, from that of the 'racism' construct formed by

society. It is important to note, however, that for the purpose of this thesis, I will primarily focus on the social and cultural concept of ‘race’.

3. ‘Race’ in South Africa

In South Africa, ‘race’ is viewed as a taboo topic. This could be due to the fact that this term is so strongly linked with apartheid history. Due to this fact, ‘race’ is a topic that seems to be avoided which in turn leads to problems when wanting to combat the issues of South Africa’s past (McKinney 2007a:219). In this section, I will discuss the issue of ‘race’ and the role that it plays in South Africa and on how ‘race’ is very often entangled with language and culture.

The concept of ‘race’ is a complex one, not only in South Africa, but also in the United States and Britain, where similar struggles with diversity are also taking place. The reason that the conceptualisation of ‘race’ is such a complex one is due to the fact that ‘race’ comprises many social relations that have an impact on how this specific concept is viewed (Mafumu 2010:25). In terms of history, South Africa and the US shared many of the same ideologies about languages policies and the ways in which they maintained these policies. The main ideology that these two nations shared was that of apartheid and segregation. What this created was an environment in which the minority ethnicities (minority in the sense of power) fell victim to an unequal and disadvantaged educational system that not only miseducated the black students, but also placed them in a subordinate role in society (Ball 2005:187). This educational system that was formed in South Africa at the time was clearly an exclusive educational system that favoured the white students over the black and coloured students by offering the white students a better resourced and better funded system. Thomas (1996:330) reported that the average expense towards a white student was R4, for the Asian student R3, the coloured student R2 and the black student only R1.

As the concept of ‘race’ has always played a role in South Africa’s educational sector, and the country had an exclusive educational environment, after the end of apartheid, research done on South African schools had a central focus on race and the formation of an inclusive educational environment. In these studies, there was a similar conclusion made by the researchers, with the conclusion being that “‘race’ has continued to be the most significant factor in post-apartheid identities” (McKinney 2007a:216).

This could be due to the fact that after more than 20 years after the end of apartheid, racial classification terms are being used on a daily basis in the public and private sectors and in official documents and policies. The racial categorisation of Black/African, Coloured, Indian and White are the terms that are used in South Africa to classify race, which all contain past and present meanings due to the way these classifications were used during apartheid (McKinney 2007a:216). McKinney (2007a) states that because South Africa continues in this pattern of a 'race'-based social inequality, this actually prevents the country from ever being able to exit 'race' or even allow citizens to begin to think about 'race' differently.

McKinney (2007a) conducted a study in a "privileged" university that can be historically linked to an Afrikaans white culture. The majority of the students in the school were white and spoke Afrikaans as their first language, and the black students were in the minority. She researched her own teaching group which included 17 students of which only two were not white. In her discussion and results, McKinney made a very interesting observation about the way in which 'race' was talked about. She observed that when talking about topics revolving around 'race', 'race' and 'culture' in many instances were combined by the students. They either used the two terms next to each other as an avoidance technique or they would use "culture" as a euphemism for "race" which also assists them in avoiding having to use the term "race" which comes "with its overt apartheid history as well as its connection to the word 'racism'" (McKinney 2007b:219).

There is, however, a level of irony that comes with this avoidance technique that the students tend to use. During the apartheid era, "culture" was a term that was widely misused and the apartheid discourse is filled with references to "cultural differences". The terms "culture" and "cultural differences" played a major role in segregationist apartheid discourse. During this time, the government was very careful not to justify their explanations on racial difference in biological terms, but rather by explaining them in terms of religious and cultural differences.

However, this does not mean that the term "race" was totally avoided in the apartheid era, as this is not at all the fact. The 'cultural differences', however, were used as a primary argument in terms of segregation. The old apartheid government used this reasoning in order to argue that it was necessary to separate these different cultures. The cultures were separated into 'white' and 'black', and the 'black' population was further subdivided into intra-'black' groups such as Zulu and Xhosa. The reasoning that was given for this segregation was that it was necessary to separate the different cultures in order to avoid "inevitable violent conflict"

(McKinney 2007a:219). Hence, there is a sense of irony when students in the post-apartheid use “culture” as a euphemism for “race”, as there is actually a great level of apartheid history linked to this (McKinney 2007a:219).

Language in South Africa has also been impacted by ‘race’, with specific reference to the racial classifications of the different varieties of South African English. McKinney (2007b:8) mentions that “varieties of English have largely come to be identified in racial terms: white South African English (BSAE), Coloured English, South African Indian English and Afrikaans English”. These labels, similar to the labels given during the apartheid era to the different cultures, constitute a new form of segregation where the assumption is made that all members of the specific racial group all speak the exact variety of English.

The problem with these classifications is that even in the description and classification of BSAE, it is not described as a variety on its own, separated from that of SAE. It is viewed in a negative light, as a deviation to the norm, and in some cases, as with Coloured English, it is not deemed an acceptable variety to use in formal spaces (McKinney 2010:9). Black, Coloured and Indian students had assimilated to the point where they created their own varieties of SAE in a manner to “fit in”, but also to retain their cultural identities. Yet still, these varieties are seen as “incorrect” and SAE is seen as the better variety. This shows that not only language in itself, such as the fact that English and Afrikaans are the mediums of instruction in the majority of schools, but even the technical aspects of language, such as accents and varieties, are being used in order to make judgements about the racial “belonging” of people in South Africa (McKinney 2007b:9).

3.1 ‘Whiteness’

The topic of ‘whiteness’ is a field that has emerged within the early 1990s as a ‘new’ manner in which to go about studying race and racialisation. In South Africa, the study and the topic of ‘whiteness’ is on the rise with topics surrounding ‘white privilege’ being discussed in the public sector. This is due to the fact that whiteness and privilege ‘was entrenched economically, politically and socially by the apartheid system’ (Conway and Steyn 2010:287). Leading up to the fall of the apartheid regime, the majority of the white population voted in favour of a new South Africa, a South Africa that would be ruled by a multiracial government. This was one of the major attempts to redefine the concept of ‘whiteness’ from the white population, yet for many, the loss of this political power that had formed a large part of their world created a new crisis for the white population of South

Africa. Steyn (2001:150) explains this new crisis as “an acute sense of loss of the familiar, loss of certainty, loss of comfort, loss of privilege, loss of well-known roles, [...] a delusional home now collapsed”.

Looking a bit deeper into the topic of ‘whiteness’ in South Africa, ‘whiteness’ has been constructed in terms of two different types of ‘whiteness’: white Afrikaans and white English. As a white English person surrounded by a white Afrikaans family, I never fully understood this sense of rivalry that exists between these two groups, as I formed part of both groups. Steyn (2001:147) mentions that this ‘intra-white’ rivalry that exists between the groups can be attributed to the fact that there is a struggle between white English and Afrikaans speakers about who “owns” real whiteness. This confusion in terms of “ownership” can once again be attributed to South African history. In 1948, the Afrikaner government came into power and along with this change in leadership came the rise of apartheid which in turn led to racial oppression due to the abuse of power by those running the country. This year in South Africa, which for many marked the very beginning of a battle for freedom, was celebrated by the white Afrikaner community as it marked the end of the battle that white Afrikaners faced in being subordinated by the British empire on many occasions in the history of South Africa (Steyn 2001:147). Now left in a country in which political power was in the hands of Afrikaner nationalists, the white English-speaking population of South Africa were now left feeling “insecure” and “alienated” (Steyn 2001:147).

As mentioned before, with the fall of the apartheid system, the white population in general felt a sense of loss, in more ways than simply a loss of what was familiar to them. Yet for the white Afrikaner community, the fall of this system resulted in a sense of shame and guilt, due to the immorality and the criminality of the Afrikaner community and government during the apartheid system (Steyn 2001:150). Many in the white English-speaking community during the apartheid era showed support for the policies which would in turn lead to the end of the apartheid era, and this put this community in a more equal position with those oppressed by the system. The Afrikaner community, however, could not escape the fact that “the apartheid system was put in place by their name [...] and they are therefore the people seen to be most in need of rehabilitation” (Steyn 2001:150).

This issue of the “intra-rivalry” that exists between the white English- and the white Afrikaans-speaking communities is still prevalent today, and will be discussed in more detail in the data analysis section.

This section precedes that of linguistic and cultural diversity to show that when discussing ‘race’, it is very seldom that it is discussed solely as a concept on its own. ‘Race’ is very much entangled with language and culture in South Africa and this echoes the old apartheid discourse.

4. Race in education in pre-Apartheid South Africa

An environment of a racially segregated educational system in South Africa was an apparent theme from the very first years of the Dutch settlers arriving on South African shores until 1994 which marked the end of the apartheid era. Within this time period, the country was introduced to its first form of formal education: legal acts such as the Bantu Education Act were written and enforced, the Soweto uprising occurred in which students protested against the apartheid education, and private religious schools underwent desegregation (Thomas 1996:330). These topics will all be further discussed in this chapter.

4.1 The beginning of formal education in South Africa

To fully understand the issue of race in education in South Africa, it is important to start at the very beginning. The Dutch settlers arrived in the Cape in 1652. It was a few years after the settlers arrived, in 1658, that Jan van Riebeeck established the very first form of formal education in the country. The motivation behind the establishment of education was due to the ‘otherness’ of the slave and the black communities. This sense of ‘otherness’ was based on the “racial need to ‘civilise’ the ‘other’ sufficiently for him or her to enter the world of colonial servitude (Soudien 2007:439) as well as to teach them [the slaves] the proper ‘discipline’”. Even though this theme of separation was the general theme of the form of education in these beginning years, there was a brief period in the late 17th century in which mixed schools did appear. In these schools, it would be common to find that the white students and the students of colour would be classmates. This act was implemented by the British Government that were ruling in the Cape at the time. The argument given for the mixed classes read as follows: “mixing in class of Europeans and kaffirs⁴ would help the latter not only to read but to speak the language with propriety” (Soudien 2007:440). This

⁴ The term “kaffir” is derived from the Arabic word which means “non-believer”. In Islam, the word means “closed”, in the sense of someone who is closed off to the religion of Islam. It is believed that due to the fact that there was a great presence of Muslims in 1658 during the slave trade, that Islam introduced the word into the colonial lexicon in South Africa. In the early years, this word was used merely to give a name to the “others”. However, as the years went on, in South Africa, the term “kaffir” shifted its meaning to a derogatory one, and was used as a word that carried negative connotations towards those who are black (Baderoon 2004:2).

educational system stemmed further than to merely ‘civilise’ or teach the appropriate manners to the others. The inclusion of the “kaffir”, however, had its alternative motives, as one must ask whether the inclusion was implemented in order for the “kaffir” to speak the language with propriety in order to serve the white man in the colonised South Africa. In this act of inclusion, the students received the opportunity for equal education and they were also given the opportunity to learn how to read and speak the English language to better themselves in colonised South Africa. In these times, this was seen as a noble act in which the colonisers were offering the opportunity for the “others” to improve themselves for the better so as to adapt to the new world enforced upon them. Today, this first attempt of integration can also possibly be viewed as the first ever attempt of the “other” having to cast off their identities in order to achieve success within the mainstream group in society.

4.2 The desegregation of private religious schools (1963-1990)

Even though a racialised educational system dominated South Africa’s educational system for centuries, in the 300 years before the end of apartheid there were movements that attempted to promote racial integration in schools. The British rulers may have been the first in South Africa to introduce an integrated school, but this was not the only movement in the pre-apartheid era.

In 1963, 15 years into the apartheid era, a school by the name of St. Barnabas College in Johannesburg introduced what is viewed as the first official phase of integration in South African schools. St. Barnabas College was a private school that was run by the Anglican church. This school declared itself as the “country’s first self-declared non-racial school” (Soudien 2007:149), although this attempt was not as widely recognised as the attempts by the Open Schools movement which was formed just after the Soweto student uprisings in 1976 (Soudien 2007:440). The Soweto student uprisings occurred in 1976 due to the fact that students, the majority being black, were in rebellion against the apartheid educational system, with specific reference to the implementation of “a language-in-education policy which required them to learn through Afrikaans as well as English in secondary schools” (Heugh 1999:301). During this uprising, the slogans “Afrikaans is a tribal language” and “Afrikaans is oppressors” were a clear indication of the students’ feelings towards the Afrikaans language and the people that spoke it. During the protest of about 15,000 students, the march towards Orlando stadium was intercepted by armed police forces who went on to open fire on the school children taking part in the march. Notably, the first life to be claimed in the

shootout was that of 13 year-old Hector Peterson. During this protest, the police fired over 50,000 rounds of ammunition, killing 248 of the protestors and injuring up to 2000 (Mafeje 1978:18).

The Open Schools movement was established by members of the Catholic church shortly after the 1976 uprisings, had different opinions to those of the apartheid government and went on to open their schools to a limited number of children of colour (Soudien 2007:440). This movement on behalf of the Catholic church raised some important discussions in South Africa with regard to our relationship with the ‘other’. Soudien (2007) speaks of South Africa’s relationship with the ‘other’ in terms of the concept of racial ‘knowing’. He mentions that “[k]nowing’ is essentially the exercise of power of those who determine the knowledge and its production and reproduction in a particular context” (Soudien 2007:443). With this definition in mind, one can conclude that the educational context is one of the most vital sites for the production of this type of ‘knowing’. In South Africa at the time, the white population were seen as the bearers of desired knowledge and the black population were assumed to have inferior knowledge of the world. This is another example of how the black population were forced to give up aspects of their own identity and culture in order to achieve success as defined by the dominant group in society. Soudien (2007) also points out more importantly that this relationship of dominance in knowledge was not just white over black, but also coloured over black and Indian over black.

The Open Schools movement hoped to change these dominating ideologies by forcing themselves to ask the question, “What might it take for white people to see themselves as part of, instead of standing at the head of, humanity?” (Soudien 2007:444). This type of questioning caused a growing discussion on integration within both the Catholic church and society as to whether black students should be admitted into white private schools. Talks of creating a new school prevailed, a school in which no race had power of another, a school in which the integrated students did not need to conform to the lifestyles of the white students, but rather were allowed to maintain their own attitudes and values. These ideas, seen as being a bit optimistic at the time, unfortunately did not prevail, yet they did open the floor for debates about the integration of schools in South Africa (Soudien 2007:445). Integration of schools took a very small step in the phase of desegregation of these type of religious private schools. Schools started to “open” their schools to a select few black students under the provision that the school would offer white standards of education to these students. An act

that was viewed as progression in terms of the inclusion of the subordinated group, in turn, excluded these students on the basis of language and culture.

4.3 The formation of the Model C School (1990-1993)

After the actions of the Open School movement, debates broke out in South Africa and slow progression was made towards the inclusion and integration of other cultures and races into the educational sector. The term “multiculturalism” became more frequent in discourse revolving around education and, as a result, schools were encouraged to include learners from different cultures (those cultures in the minority). This, however, was all done in a manner that ensured that the white dominance in the schools would not be challenged. Schools started to introduce cultural days and began to teach ethnic histories. This was where the attempt to create a multicultural environment halted for the time being (Soudien 2007:446). Despite these attempts made by the government, black students around the country were still rebelling against the apartheid government by boycotting schools and having public demonstrations in which the students had only one request – equal schooling for all. Yet these students’ voices were still not heard. The government did not even seem to waver in terms of full integration after it was reported that in 1990, “there were 177,225 unoccupied spaces in white schools throughout the country, in contrast to a calculated shortage of 159,849 places for African children [and] 58 white schools were no longer being used” (Soudien 2007:447).

What the apartheid government suggested, however, is that the white schools could choose between three models as options for dealing with the integration of black students. The three models were presented as follows:

- Model A: By selecting this model, the school was able to keep its exclusivity.
- Model B: This model allowed for the schools to open up their schools partially whilst still being able to receive money from the state.
- Model C: By selecting this model, the schools would be agreeing to fully opening their schools and they would receive subsidy for the salaries of teachers – but the school itself would have to take responsibility for some expenses (Soudien 2007:447).

In 1992, it was announced by Minister Clase that all white schools were to have Model C status. This meant that all white schools would be, in monetary terms, partially supported by state but the rest of the funds had to come from the parents themselves. The schools were also

run by a management team and by the school principal (Vally and Dalamba 1999:10). What seems to have happened here once again, is that an act that was intended for the purposes of inclusion and integration of the black students into these ‘privileged’ white schools actually ended up excluding the majority of black parents “from enrolling their children largely because of the high fees” (Vally and Dalamba 1999:10). This transition to the Model C status also caused many of the black parents and their children to be steered away from the white schools “after failing selection measures, admissions tests and other so-called meritocratic criteria which actually masked explicit racism” (Vally and Dalamba 1999:10).

Unfortunately, parents who were in control of the management of the white schools still experienced anxiety surrounding the integration of schools. Parents were insistent that:

their traditions should be preserved, that racial balance is favour of whites should be protected, that there should be strict admission criteria applied and that black children should only be admitted from the neighbourhood of the schools.

(Soudien 2007: 448)

Whilst the majority of the country was celebrating the fact that Model C status had been awarded to all schools and that students of colour were being allowed access into all schools, many of the white parents that were involved in the governing bodies of these schools were celebrating for other reasons. These parents were celebrating the fact that white supremacy could be maintained and safeguarded in the former “white schools” as they were still able to continue to manage the schools “on their own terms and not on those of the people who were being newly admitted into the schools” (Soudien 2007:448).

During this period of transition to Model C status, the Open Schools Association (OSA) developed task teams in order to assist schools with the changes that they were experiencing. During this period, South Africa was not the only country facing challenges with multiculturalism. The US and the UK were facing similar challenges and the OSA utilised the discourse of multiculturalism that was taking place in these countries to encourage schools in South Africa to accept all backgrounds, religions and cultures and also to take on a language of tolerance rather than that of discrimination (Soudien 2007:449).

Unfortunately, these efforts of encouragement were not received and implemented by many schools in the country. Due to the growing political pressure in South Africa in the early 1990s, white schools paraphrased the words of encouragement from the OSA. White schools

did indeed allow for integration to take place and they accepted students from different backgrounds and religions. However, the majority of white schools felt that it was necessary to assist the students of colour to fit into the white culture. These schools assumed that the students of colour did not possess the “cultural, social and economic capital required to operate within the school” (Soudien 2007:449). Once again, even though there was an attempt by these schools for integration and inclusion, this process was being hindered by introducing the notion of the ‘other’ which in turns led to a discourse of exclusion.

5. Race in education in post-apartheid South Africa

After the first democratic elections in 1994, one of the main challenges for the new government was to restructure and rebuild South Africa’s education system after the apartheid education. With this new chapter in the country’s history came challenges for the new government. Amongst these challenges was the need for the new government to restructure and rebuild South Africa’s education system after the long reign of the apartheid education. According to Mafumu (2010:16), the intention that the new government had was to:

restructure the education system in a way that would accommodate and treat all South African citizens equally, irrespective of their race, gender, culture and language, towards the building of a unitary non-racial and non-sexist Republic of South Africa.

This section of will look at the changes in the education system after 1994 and will assess if the intention of the new government indeed played out.

5.1 Policy changes and the power of governing bodies (1994-2001)

Bluntly stated, after 1994, the white people in South Africa lost political control. With this, the new government placed schools as the centre point of their focus as these institutions were the truest representation of the struggle “between the old and the new” (Soudien 2007:451). The new government took control over the educational system by passing the South African Schools Act of 1996 (SASA 1996). This act reiterates that fact that even though the country has achieved democracy, the past educational system of South Africa, which was largely based on the Bantu Education Act, was based on an environment of segregation due to racial inequality. The act recognises the fact that a new national system is required in order to redress the injustices of the past in terms of education and it states that

there is a need for this new national education system to “combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination” (SASA 1996:1). The goal of the SASA is to set “uniform norms and standards for the education of learners at schools and throughout the Republic of South Africa” (SASA 1996:1). A few of the key aspects of the SASA are:

- Governing bodies were instated at all schools. The governing bodies of the schools consisted mostly of the parents of the students, teachers, non-educator staff and at times a non-parent member of society.
- The governing bodies are required to have control over the admissions to the school and over the religious and language policies.
- The governing body also determined the annual compulsory school fees, which must be communicated to the parents at an annual meeting.

The act comprises many other sections, but I have chosen to focus on the inclusion of governing bodies in all schools as it is with this new inclusion into South Africa’s education system where exclusion was reintroduced into schools, with schools being able to justify this fact by using the SASA, an act originally intended for inclusion of all.

With the fall of apartheid came the rise of the anti-apartheid resistance that began emerging in many white communities. This resistance was based on the premise of preserving white privilege. Many former white schools were challenged by the government due to the fact that they were embarking on acts of exclusion. For example, “to mention one court action, *Mikro versus the State*, the judge found in favour of a school for defending its right to define itself as an Afrikaans school and therefore to withhold admission rights from English-speaking black children” (Soudien 2007:452).

As the SASA (1996) states, the governing bodies that were required by law to manage all schools have control over the admissions, school fees and language policies of the school. In accordance with this act, it was argued that the school, due to the stipulations set out in the SASA, was indeed in control of who is admitted and who is not. The result is that the government was actually trapped in the ambiguity of their own text which allowed these former white schools to promote exclusionary agendas (Soudien 2007:452).

5.2 The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (2001-)

In order to correct this flaw in policy, no direct assistance came from the government but simply another policy, the Values Manifesto of 2001. In this manifesto, there are a few points

that are brought to light. It was recognised that many former white, Indian or “coloured” schools were practising a “colour bar” by setting high school fees as a way of excluding black students. It was stated that these types of action were “explicitly illegal, and could be stamped out by a high-profile campaign of legal action against those schools which do not comply with the law” (Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy 2001:43).

The Manifesto also stated the following:

The key inhibitor to meaningful racial transformation in schools is language: black students enter a world in which they are linguistically, culturally and socially disadvantaged from day one because they are struggling with what is often a third language while their classmates are empowered with the ability to communicate in their mother tongue. The Report on Diversity in Educational Institutions shows that there are a significant number of schools which use language – Afrikaans – to exclude black students, or admit black students but refuse to teach them in English.

(Manifesto On Values, Education and Democracy 2001:43)

It is also stated in this document that their research has concluded that even though the majority of schools have integrated, the fact remains that the teachers of the school are predominantly white. It is further stated that the value system of the school will only change once the school’s staff and administration represent the demographics of the student body. The Manifesto also suggests that if schools employ black teachers and administration, this might serve the purpose of providing black role models to the white students which will only serve as a method to debunk racial prejudices and fears. The last point that I would like to highlight from the Values Manifesto is the fact that in 2001, some of the provincial educational departments had aimed to have 50% black or coloured teachers in all former Model C schools (Manifesto On Values, Education and Democracy 2001:43).

This Manifesto assumed that the developments of integration were the responsibility of the former white schools and the white schools could no longer “justify their actions by invoking the authority of the state” (Soudien 2007:452). The former white schools that are now being run by the governing body, in light of the Values Manifesto, had to find new ways in order to justify their actions of exclusion. As the governing bodies are, on a large scale, mostly run by parents, in white schools, the relationship that exists between white and black students are seen largely to be based on the attitudes that white parents have towards black children. Due

to this, black children in the former white schools continued to be viewed as deviant to the mainstream race and culture. In order to maintain dominance in former white schools, a new argument was formed, one that prevails to this day. Actions of cultural and linguistic exclusion were justified by the “right to hold on to cultural purity, and more sophisticated invocations of the need to prepare young people for participation in the global order” (Soudien 2007:453).

5.3 Preparing students for “global order”

Schools began and are still today arguing that by receiving an education in a former Model C or former white school, the students will be able to go anywhere in the world. These schools began to stray from the typical political arguments and rather chose to rationalise their actions by arguing that their schools are not to be thought of as white South African schools, but rather as “internationally bench-marked institution[s] of learning” (Soudien 2007:453).

This type of exclusionary discourse by the former white schools place students who do not form part of the other colour in a deviant role in terms of their language and culture. It creates the illusion that these students will need to cast off their own identities to “fit in” in terms of “universalised cosmopolitanism” (Soudien 2007:453). The argument has now shifted to allow some of these former white schools to still take part in acts of exclusion on a linguistic and cultural basis, due to the fact that they advertise themselves as being able to assist the students in the school to achieve success in the global mainstream culture. I believe that this type of argument was introduced in order for the former white schools to maintain power over the students. However, there has been a negative impact on all students, not only on students of colour. The discourse of global success has led to many of the white members of the youth to also cast off their South African identities. Soudien (2007) mentions that a young white girl recently revealed that she views herself as “South African – but not for long”. This could be due to the fact that white students are also encouraged by their teachers and parents to seek their identities elsewhere other than South Africa (Soudien 2007:453). In order for the former white schools to maintain cultural and linguistic control, they have not only created an environment in which students of colour need to cast off their identities and cultures to achieve success as prescribed to them by the mainstream culture in a national and international sense. They have also created an environment in which the demographic that they had attempted to “protect” are also seeking their identities elsewhere.

5.4 Conclusion

The history of race in education after apartheid shows that the necessary policies have been put in place, but in the 20 years after the SASA (1996) was published, these policies never fully became a reality. Schools and institutions are still facing acts of racism despite the policies and manifestos that were intended to prevent this from happening. What can be concluded from this chapter is that the acts of exclusion that were faced in the apartheid era are still prevalent today; they now only disguise themselves, not as a political issue, but rather as one of globalisation. Soudien (2007) quotes Mamphela Ramphele on her description of schools that she visited in the late 1990s. In a chapter titled “Verwoerd’s Ghost”, she writes that “It is doubtful that Dr. HF Verwoerd, the architect of Bantu Education and the intellectual force behind the enforcement of apartheid, knew how profound an impact he would have on the future” (Soudien 2007:441). This evocative statement is justified by the actions that have taken place in the educational system after the end of the apartheid era.

The question that remains is how has the history of race in education in South Africa contributed to the way in which South Africans conceptualise ‘race’. This will be discussed in the next chapter, in which the notion of ‘race’ will be discussed, and how – because of South Africa’s history – this term is often intertwined with topics of language and culture.

CHAPTER 3: THE ENTANGLEMENT OF RACE, CULTURE AND LANGUAGE IN THE CLASSROOM

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, based on Soudien's (2007) historical analysis of integration in South Africa, the conclusion can be made that 'white' people in South Africa today are the ones that hold the preferred knowledge while the people of colour in South Africa are made to believe that they hold inferior understandings of the world. Another conclusion that can be made is that race seems to still be an issue in the South African educational system and it is entangled with notions of 'culture' and 'language'. In this chapter, I will begin by discussing the concepts of 'linguistic diversity' and 'cultural diversity' and how these concepts are used in the South African context. I will then go on to discuss the coercive relations of power that exist in our micro- and macro-environments. The concept of 'race' will be discussed and I will expand on how 'race' was perceived pre- and post- apartheid. I will also discuss the notion of 'identity', and how all of the above factors can have a negative impact on identity in South Africa.

2. Cultural and linguistic diversity in the classroom

South Africa is a country that prides itself in being culturally and linguistically diverse in that it has 11 official languages. As unique a characteristic this is for the country, what is not as widely recognised is that this linguistic and cultural diversity poses a challenge for the South African educational system. McKinney (2007a) states that very often, when talking about the topic of 'race', we tend to do so by referring instead to culture and language. It is for this reason that it is important to define the terms "cultural diversity" and "linguistic diversity" as, very often in the South African educational system, these terms are entangled with that of "race".

The term "cultural diversity", in the educational setting, is a term that is used to refer to students that differ from the mainstream culture due to factors such as ethnicity, language and even social class. The assumption is made that those students who are referred to as

“culturally diverse” or as the “minority” in countries such as the US, as well as in the context of South Africa, do not necessarily use English as their native language and that those students originate from ethnic minority groups (Terry and Irving 2010:110). It is important to note here that the term “minority”, when referring to groups of people in South Africa, is not used in reference to number, but rather to economic and social power.

Black Africans in South Africa make up the majority of the population. A 2011 census revealed that black Africans make up 79,2% of the population, coloureds and Indians make up 12,1% of the population and the remaining 8,7% is constituted by the whites in South Africa (Census 2011: Methodology and Highlights of key results:9). When one looks at these statistics, it is clear to see that when the term “minority” is used in relation to education, it cannot possibly be used to describe the black population in South Africa, as they clearly make up the majority of the population in terms of number. It is here that I make the point that the term “minority” has two different definitions in South Africa: the first definition is that a certain population group is smaller in number than another population group, which is the most common definition of the word. However, in the South African educational system, “minority” is also a term that is used to describe the specific influence that a group exerts in society (Mothota and Lemmer 2002:106).

This can not only be seen in South Africa. Mothota and Lemmer (2002) use the language situation in the US as an example of the latter, where English is the language that is used in business, government and within education. It is for this reason that those members of society who do not speak English form part of a language minority group rather than a population minority group.

Ogbu (1992) states that there are primary and secondary differences that are imbedded within the term “cultural diversity”. Primary cultural differences describe the differences that existed between two groups before these groups came into contact with one another. In South Africa, primary cultural differences are not as prominent as the secondary cultural differences that exist. Secondary cultural differences refer to the differences that surface after two populations or groups come into contact with one another or after they participate “in an institution controlled by members of another population” (Ogbu 1992:8), for example, schools that are under the influence and control of the dominant group in society.

The secondary cultural differences that exist between the culturally diverse (minority) students and the mainstream (dominant) culture not only impact society as a whole, but these differences tend to enter the educational sector and they seem to have a persistent and extensive negative impact on the culturally diverse students. Ogbu (1992:10) believes that the reason behind the poorer academic performance is that the minority students within an educational setting find it more challenging to cross the cultural and the language boundaries set up by the dominant group in society.

South Africa's sociopolitical history is a major contributor to the lack of growth in multilingualism. In the apartheid era, English and Afrikaans were the only official languages, and all indigenous African languages were excluded and neglected. Not only were the African languages neglected, the members of the black population were also forced to study in Afrikaans due to the fact that Afrikaans was a mandatory medium of instruction in schools. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this was one of the major issues that led to the debates about equality and integration in education, which started shortly after the Soweto uprising in 1976 (Meyer and Hartell 2009:189).

After 1994, "language rights (including the right to be taught and to learn in the language of one's choice) are guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa" (Meyer and Hartell 2009:189). This led to the desegregation of schools and to schools becoming more multilingual yet, due to historical reasons, schools still seem only have one language of learning. In South Africa, English is used as "the de-facto language of instruction despite official policy which advocates for additive bilingualism" (Cleghorn and Evans 2010:30). Due to the fact that English is used so widely in many sectors of the country, such as business, politics and education, "linguistic diversity" amongst students can be used to describe students whose native language is other than English. The term is also used to describe students whose native tongue is simply other than the "middle-class mainstream English" (Terry and Irving 2010:110) that is used in schools. In simpler terms, linguistic diversity amongst students refers to second language learners, language minority students and "non-mainstream dialect speakers" (Terry and Irving 2010:110).

Cummins (1997) agrees with Ogbu (1992) by stating that there is a common element that exists in culturally and linguistically diverse countries around the world, namely that diversity poses a problem for the culture, attitudes and the language use of the minority group

as the members thereof are expected to become “invisible and inaudible” (Cummins 1997:107). Due to the subordination by the dominant group, Cummins (1997) expands on Ogbu’s (1992) abovementioned views by attaching more precise definitions to these differences and interactions between the dominant and minority groups in society, which also affect the educational setting. “Coercive relations” of power is the term that Cummins (1997) uses in order to explain the relationship between the culturally diverse minority and the mainstream culture in society. This concept will be discussed in the following section.

3. Coercive relations of power

Cummins (1997) refers to coercive relations of power as the dominant relationship that the mainstream culture in society has over the non-mainstream culture in society. He explains that these coercive relations of power create a situation where the dominant group exercises power over the subordinated group, which leads to an environment in which the dominant group defines the subordinated group as inferior (Cummins 1997:107). In South Africa, as noted in the previous chapter, dominant coercive relationships do indeed exist in both the macro- and micro-environments of the country.

The coercive power relations that exist in the macro-environment have a major effect on what goes on in the South African educational system as they have a direct effect on the educational structures and policies within the schools as well as directly impacting the educator’s role definitions. All of these factors working together have a negative effect on the subordinated group in the school.

The educational structures that exist in a country involve constituents such as policies (including the policies and manifestos such as the Bantu Education Act (1953), SASA (1996) and the Values Manifesto (2001), programmes, curricula and assessment. These educational structures are established in order to achieve the goals of the dominant group in a society where these coercive power relationships exist (Cummins 1997:109). This fact is evident when looking at South Africa’s history. The influences that stem from the surrounding macro-environment also directly impact schools due to the fact that all of these factors influence the governing body of the school. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the governing bodies of schools have full control over admissions and policies of the school. Due to this fact, many of the former Model C schools in South Africa that are still predominantly run by a majority

white governing body are continuing to create an environment in which there is clear discrimination and a discourse of exclusion towards those who form part of the “culturally diverse” group of students (see Chapter 2 of this thesis).

Adding to the chain effect of subordination are the role definitions of teachers and parents which are widely influenced by the biased educational structures influenced by the coercive relations of power. Role definitions of teachers refer to the assumptions, expectations and the goals that teachers have as well as the ways in which these teachers communicate with culturally diverse students (Cummins 1997:108). If a teacher adopts biased and dominant role definitions, this will be carried over into the classroom setting, and the culturally diverse students will once again be in the situation in which they are subordinated (Cummins 1997:109).

Ball (2005) also highlights an aspect that could impact the role definitions of teachers. In the research done in South African and US schools, Ball (2005) notes that teachers can also be viewed as “linguistic gatekeepers⁵”. Both the South African and US histories speak to an exclusive educational environment that excludes the minority ethnicity. This has resulted in teachers historically adopting the role of implementing language policies that disadvantage the minority student (p. 190).

Cummins (2001) states that one of the major reasons behind the fact that the attempts of educational reform has not been successful is due to the relationships that exist between the teachers and students and between the teachers and the communities that have not broken free from these coercive relations of power. In order for a positive change to be made, teachers need to change their role definitions in terms of the way in which they interact with the students in the classroom and in the communities, that the teachers serve. One could argue that, in South Africa, there have been policies that have been put in place to rectify this situation and to ensure effective change. However, these policies will never become a reality until these coercive relations of power and their impact on the role definitions of teachers is addressed. This can be stated due to the fact that the implementation of the policies will depend on the educators and to the extent that they are prepared to redefine their role definitions of the minority students in the classroom and the communities that these students come from (Cummins 2001:175).

⁵ Teachers can be referred to as “linguistic gatekeepers” as they have the power in the classroom to decide on what the language norms will be and how these norms will be transmitted in this setting.

4. Diversity and identity in the classroom

In the previous sections, I have described how cultural and linguistic diversity have been used in the educational setting in South Africa. However, it is important to state that South Africa is not the only country experiencing challenges in the educational setting based on cultural and linguistic diversity.

In Australia, the levels of immigration have increased drastically over recent years thereby contributing to the development of Australia as a multicultural society. Australian schools, however, seem to be struggling with the opportunities and the challenges that the range of religions, languages and cultures bring to their educational setting (Buchanan, Burrridge and Chodkiewicz 2009:68). The biggest challenge that these schools seem to face is very similar to the challenges that South Africa is facing, that is, for the schools and the teachers to not only recognise how diverse their society is, but also to “draw on approaches that support student learning in culturally appropriate ways to assist them to better realise their full potential” (Buchanan, Burrridge and Chodkiewicz 2009:69).

Buchanan, Burrridge and Chodkiewicz (2009) also note that teachers play a very important role in the transformation of education in order to account for the education of the culturally diverse. They emphasise work by Noble and Poynting (2000) done on this topic and they argue that an important aspect of a multicultural education was about the removal of the view that these diverse students are seen as a “disadvantage”; these educators should rather see the value of diversity and “the need for social cohesion and the benefit of drawing on the language and cultural recourse of immigrants” (p. 71). In South Africa, this shift of reconceptualising diverse students is also needed, as we are not only experiencing these issues with immigrants in schools, but with our fellow South Africans.

Britain and Canada are also two societies that are dealing with the issue of diversity. As previously stated, the term “super-diversity” was coined by Steve Vertovec (2007) in order to describe the extreme multilingual and multicultural status of Britain after the influx of migrants into Britain after the 1990s. Both Britain and Canada, up until recent years, seemed to have “nurtured the myth of cultural and linguistic homogeneity as a means of ensuring that power stays with the dominant group” (Edwards and Redfern 1992:6), a trend that I will later show occurs in some South African schools today. Studies in Britain and Canada have also

indicated that the ethnic minority students do not seem to be reaching their full potential in terms of classroom performance and the efforts to identify the reason behind these results have proved disappointing. With regard to the situation in Canada, it has been argued by observers that the support for multiculturalism has been mostly due to the efforts of ethnic organisations rather than from “ordinary Canadians” (Edwards and Redfern 1992:13). The situation in Canada is summarised as follows by Edwards and Redfern (1992:13):

The Canadian population has a certain (unspecified, perhaps unspecifiable) level of tolerance for diversity, a certain fund of passive goodwill, a certain willingness to see ‘others’ shape their lives as desired; it does not appear to have any great sympathy for real changes in social institutions, for direct (especially financial) government involvement in ethnocultural affairs, for any substantial alteration to an Anglo-conformity pattern. In these respects, it is, perhaps, like many other societies.

This statement is very important as Edwards and Redfern (1992) recognise that this attitude of tolerance towards the ‘other’ in society is one that exists in many societies. What these discussions show is that “culturally diverse” or the minority students in an educational setting are made to feel subordinate and marginalised, not only in South Africa. This is an issue that has been experienced in many other countries such as Australia, Britain, Canada and the US.

No child should ever feel a sense of shame and guilt about their background (Nieto 2002:35). Unfortunately, this happens to be the case in many South African schools, especially in the former Model C schools. What this has led to is the emergence of a seemingly mono-cultural education.

A “mono-cultural education” describes an education that not only reflects the dominant culture, but also describes an education that is biased towards the dominant culture (Nieto 2002:36). Students that are part of the dominant group in society view their belief system and behaviour as the only ways of doing things. The dominant group in society exerts the feeling that anything else that is different to them is ethnic or exotic. This creates a situation in which the dominant students see themselves as the norm, and the culturally diverse students see themselves as the deviation to the norm (Nieto 2002:39). A mono-cultural education creates an environment where, within a classroom, mainstream culture students are negatively impacting the cultural identities that the culturally diverse students pose. Mono-cultural education causes the culturally diverse students to feel excluded in a classroom setting, and thus there should be more focus on a multicultural education which will have a more

inclusive effect as it will involve all students in the classroom. This will lead to the culturally diverse not casting off their identities, but rather strengthening them.

What seems to be happening in classrooms today, especially in a multicultural community, is that the secondary cultural differences, explained in the previous section, have “evolved as coping mechanisms” (Ogbu 1992:10) under the oppressive conditions that the mainstream culture impose. The result is that the members of the minority group are inclined to give up these differences that make up their cultural identity as they believe that they are oppressed and want to escape these cultural boundaries that are holding them back from “fitting in” in the classroom setting and being accepted by their peers (Ogbu 1992:10).

Not only do learners at times feel the pressure to assimilate in order to just be accepted by their peers, at times assimilation is forced upon the students by educational systems and by teachers’ role definitions which are affected by the coercive power relations that exist in society. This can be substantiated by a study done by McKinney (2010). She focused her research on a previously ‘white’ English medium school that in 1991 was forced to open its door to ‘black’ students in order to prevent the school from closing down due to the decline in enrolments. Over the years, the school’s demographics have shifted to where the majority of students are African, with only a handful of white students. In this study, she recognised that assimilationist discourses often positioned the students in the school as “outsiders” who were expected by educators, including the principal, to “fit in or leave”. This was done to the extent that the school’s strict disciplinary action was used in order to mould the students into the type of students they deemed “worthy” for the school (McKinney 2010:196).

In a country, coercive power relations control the national and the individual identities that exist. This fact is highlighted in Ngugi wa Thiongo’s (1986, in Cummins 1997:107) account of his experiences in a Kenyan context:

Thus, one of the most humiliating experiences was to be caught speaking Gikuyu in the vicinity of the school. The culprit was given corporal punishment [...] or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY. Sometimes the culprits were fined money they could hardly afford.

What this account shows is that, in a society where coercive relations of power exist, a message of what kinds of identity are “acceptable” in a classroom are enforced to the extent

that the culturally diverse students, in order to gain access to the teacher-learning relationship, often need to reject their own identities (Cummins 1997:108).

There are cases in which students fully reject their own cultural identities and they become who they are expected to be. Some culturally diverse students, in worst case scenarios, reject the dominant group's identity and then seek some sort of identity and acceptance on the streets, instead of in the classroom (Cummins 1997:108).

The act of the culturally diverse casting off their old identities is a prominent feature amongst the black adolescents in the US. There appears to be a common trend in which these students give up certain aspects of their old identities and their cultural systems for no other reason than to achieve success as defined by the dominant culture (Cummins 1997:108).

As mentioned above, teachers also have an impact on the identities of children in the classroom. Their interactions with the students in a classroom portray the identities and the role definitions of teachers (Cummins 1997:109). When teachers define their identities and their role definitions in terms of the coercive relations of power, this affects the teacher-learner relationship in the classroom. The culturally diverse students will in turn become marginalised and, once again, their cultural identities are at stake.

Educational structures that are in place in the educational setting – for example, the admissions policies, school fees and language policies – can also have an effect on the identities of students. The idea of cultural identity is embodied in these educational structures and policies that supposedly celebrate cultural and linguistic diversity, whilst at the same time, these educational structures and policies treat students that form part of the non-mainstream culture as different and disadvantaged (Campbell 2000:31). In most cases, these structures are organised in a manner that “acknowledge[s] that non-mainstream cultural groups are entitled to maintain their traditional attitudes, languages and values” (Campbell 2010:31), yet they are implemented in a manner that satisfies the needs and the goals of the mainstream culture.

As there is no escaping these mainstream culture dominant educational structures and policies, it is inevitable that they in turn will affect the non-mainstream culture students. These students now have the added burden of, as mentioned above, not only feeling the need to shed their cultural identity to fit in with the mainstream culture students, but also having cultural conflict as they need to adopt a bi-cultural identity between home and school. This

means having to juggle between cultural identities in order to fit in at home as well as at school. However, having a bi-cultural identity does have one vital advantage in that it may “heighten the individual’s awareness of cultural differences” (Campbell 2010:37) that exist, which may have a great personal advantage in the acceptance of cultural identity.

One fact that seems to be evident under the theme of cultural identity is that, due to dominant coercive relations of power in society that influence teachers’ role definitions and educational structures and policies, it has become easier to regard students that form part of non-mainstream cultural backgrounds as “disadvantaged”. It is becoming a norm to rather attempt to change the non-mainstream culture students to fit the norms of the mainstream culture in society, instead of carrying the burden of training teachers and creating policies to adjust to the home environments of the culturally diverse (Campbell 2000:37). This fact is one of the largest obstacles in relation to the loss of cultural identity of the non-mainstream culture students.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction

This chapter will give an overview of the methodological considerations that were taken into account during this study. In this overview, I will expand on the ethnographic approach adopted for this study, and will also present a discussion on how the area, school and participants for this study were selected. I will then expand on the research tools and the analytical tools employed, and will finally examine the ethical considerations and limitations of this study.

2. Ethnography

The term “ethnography” is used to define the description of people and cultures. The use of ethnography in anthropology, sociology and on more modern developments in the field has many characteristics. Denscombe (2010:80) lists the main characteristics involved in the use of ethnography as a research tool as follows:

- By deciding to use Ethnography, the researcher must spend a prolonged period of time in the field of research. The researcher needs to stay clear from just observing the lives and the actions of the participants, but they should remember to also share in their lives.
- The ethnographer must be sure to take note of the aspects that are not routine or part of everyday life. It is important to note that these actions are just as important as the big events that normally capture our attention and they would be useful to include in your research data.
- The ethnographer needs to pay attention to the way in which the participants that they are studying understand their world and how they attach meanings to things.
- In the field of ethnography, it is known that the observations made by the ethnographer and the conclusions that are made about the group that is being studied is not just a description, but also a construction.

In modern times, ethnography is not only being used to study the “deviant” groups in society such as “hobos, alcoholics, drug users, religious sects, street gangs and the like” (Denscombe

2010:81); the use of ethnography has branched out to study the more routine and mundane groups in society as these are also equally valid topics of study. More recently, ethnographic research has “shifted and refocused on to more routine and mainstream aspects of life, for example life in classrooms” (Denscombe 2010:81).

More specifically, linguistic ethnography can be described as an “orientation towards particular epistemological and methodological traditions in the study of social life” (Creese 2008:232). By merging the terms “linguistics” and “ethnography”, we are able to argue the fact that “ethnography can benefit from the analytical frameworks provided by linguistics, while linguistics can benefit from the processes of reflexive sensitivity required in ethnography” (Creese 2008:232). By integrating the use of linguistics into the field of ethnography, it allows the researcher to conduct a close reading on a specific social context in order to isolate and identify linguistic and discursive structures that exist in the community of research. In this way, linguistic ethnography allows the researcher to utilise their close linguistic analysis of text or speech as embedded in a wider social world (Creese 2008:233). Linguistic ethnography, in recent years, has become a methodological tool that is utilised by researchers who are focused on identity, ethnicity, literacy, classroom discourse and language teaching, as this method of data collection allows the researcher to make connections about the role that language plays in our daily lives (Creese 2008:233).

2.1 Description of research site

The site that I selected for my ethnographic research was collected from a former Model C school that is situated within the Northern Suburbs of the Western Cape. This school is and has always been bilingual, with the two primary languages being English and Afrikaans. However, in recent years, the demographics of the school have shifted along with the demographics of the area. The school went from having the majority ‘white’ Afrikaans students and minority ‘coloured’ and ‘black’ students, to where the minority group is now, according to student numbers, the ‘white’ middle class and the majority group is the ‘coloured’ middle class, the only group remaining in the minority being the black students.

2.2 The role of the researcher’s ‘self’

A very important aspect in the field of ethnography is the significant role that the researcher’s ‘self’ plays the process of the study. In my choice to make use of ethnography, I as the researcher make the decision to become part of the study. The researcher’s values, beliefs and

identity become part of the study and it is a component that cannot be eliminated as it can have an influence on the findings of the project.

It is therefore necessary for me as the researcher to admit that this study is an issue that I have been interested in for quite a while. Having grown up in England, I was in a class and school that consisted of students from Ghana, India, Pakistan, Uganda, China and other European countries. In this setting, the sense of exclusion was non-existent. Upon moving to South Africa, I was once again immersed into a culturally- and linguistically-rich environment, but it was here that I was first introduced to the concept of ‘exclusion’. It is my belief that no student – white, coloured or black – should ever feel a sense of exclusion in the educational setting. I, as a white English- and Afrikaans-speaking female in South Africa, identify myself as African due to my family heritage and I view all in this country as African. I aim to use academic research to approach the topic of race from a linguistic point of view, thereby providing insight into an issue about which I am passionate.

By stating the above, I believe that approaching the study from an ethnographic point of view would be effective as it would allow for me to share in my participants’ lives, as I believe we are all one in the same. My aim was for my values and identity to be visible through my discourse during the data collection which, I believe, will lead to the participants feeling more comfortable to talk about the topic of race with me.

There are, however, a few negative points that can arise from this form of research methodology. As a researcher, I am a white female, and in the context of South Africa I am viewed as “privileged”. Pillow (2003:185) quotes Young (1997) on his views of the “privileged”:

When people obey the injunction to put themselves in the position of others, they too often put themselves, with their own particular experiences and privileges, in the positions they see the others. When privileged people put themselves in the position of those who are less privileged, the assumptions derived from their privilege often allow them unknowingly to misrepresent the other’s situation.

The issue of the unknowing misrepresentation of the ‘other’s’ situation is a negative drawback to this field of study. As previously mentioned, I am a white female looking to speak not only for the white students in this study, but also to the coloured and the black students. In my previous study, this was one of the first challenges that I had to overcome as

it was not understood, to paraphrase a participant interviewed last year, “why a white person is interested in what black students have to say”.

To overcome this obstacle, I had to explain my history with race and my views on the topic and that I believe we are all the same. I explained to the students that I am very passionate about creating a society that is equal and inclusive for all. I used the same methods with the students in the current study as I did not want the students to view me as being in a position of “power” or “privilege”, but rather as one of their peers to whom they could talk openly.

3. Research tools

3.1 The unstructured interview

The unstructured interview, or the ethnographic interview, is a tool that has been developed and used in the fields of sociology. This type of interview technique is used in order to extract participants’ social realities. Unstructured interviews allow for the researcher to understand the behaviours of the participants without “imposing any *a priori* categorization, which might limit the field of inquiry” (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009:1). During the unstructured interview, the interviewer has a conversation with the participants and the interviewer produces questions based on the responses of the participants. This method relies on the spontaneity of question formation which aids in a more natural flow of conversation between the interviewer and the participants. The aim of using the unstructured interview is to allow the researcher to explore unexpected emerging themes. This also allows the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the “interviewees’ social reality from the interviewees’ perspectives” (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009:2). It is important to understand that even though this method does not require a pre-determined set of questions or structure, this does not mean that the questions are random. One cannot embark on this method of questioning without a certain amount of preparation and knowledge on the subject of inquiry. This is important as there is no point in gathering data that does not relate to the topic of research. The researcher must try and encourage the interviewees to open up about experiences that “are relevant to the problems of interest to the researcher” (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009:2).

This method however does allow for the researcher to use an *aide memoire* which is a broad and loosely guided list of questions. By using an *aide memoire*, the unstructured interview gains a level of consistency which is useful and necessary when there are multiple interview sessions that need to be analysed (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009:2). For each interview, I used

the same list of questions that I used in my previous study. In each case, I chose one of the broader questions on linguistic and cultural diversity as a starting point for discussion. This list of questions was also on hand when the conversation strayed far from the basic topic of discussion. I would select a question from the list that most closely related to the random topic being discussed by the students at that moment in order to allow the conversation to revert back “naturally” to the topic of research. At most, the questions were used on rare occasions as a control mechanism.

3.2 The interviewer

In using this method of questioning, it is important for the researcher to engage with the participants by presenting themselves as a friend, a member of the interviewees’ group or, in the case of my research task, as a student and friend who sympathises with the lives of the participants and shows a level of understanding and relation. By creating this type of friendly relationship, the possibility of a natural rapport with the participants becomes greater, which in turn will allow for an in-depth view and understanding into the lives and discourse of the participants (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009:3).

As with any other interview technique, the unstructured interview does pose a few challenges for the researcher. The first of these challenges is that this method requires a great amount of time in order to collect the data. This is due to the fact that the researcher would need to gain some understanding on the environment surrounding his/her participants. It is for this reason that this method of conducting interviews is best used when taking an ethnographic approach to data collection. As ethnographic data collection creates an environment of trust, rapport and familiarity, the researcher will have already gained an understanding of the environment surrounding the participants, thus making the unstructured interview an effective method of data collection (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009:5).

The second challenge that the researcher faces is to control the conversation to ensure that the interview does not stray too far from the research point. In controlling the direction of the conversation, the researcher must be sure not to use direct questioning that forces an immediate turn around in conversation. It is important for the researcher to determine “when and how to interrupt the conversation gracefully, to return it to a topic of interest for the purposes of the research” (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009:6).

The final challenge that the researcher might face is in the analysis of the structured interview.

4. Data selection and collection

My research plan consisted of three steps: I conducted classroom interviews, focus group interviews, followed by field observations. In the following section, I will be discussing my methods of data collection.

4.1 Classroom interviews

Under advisement of the principal of the school, I selected two Grade 12 English classes upon which to conduct my research. Both of these classes contained a variety of students with the majority of the students being coloured. With each class, I conducted two interviews during their weekly Friday morning “open periods”. The goal of the first interview was for the students to become comfortable with me as the researcher and to have an open and casual conversation with the students about the topic of cultural and linguistic diversity. The first interview was not recorded as it was not used for transcription purposes. During the recorded second interview with the classes, the students were more open and eager to discuss the topic of linguistic and cultural diversity in schools. The interview took the form of an unstructured interview which will be explained later in this section.

4.2 Focus group interviews

After the classroom interviews were concluded, the students were asked to volunteer to further discuss the topics that arose in the classroom discussions in the form of smaller focus groups. The student volunteers were divided into three groups by race. By dividing the groups by race, this opened up the possibility of comparing classroom discourse to the focus groups discourse in order to assess whether there were any noticeable discursive changes between all the races when grouped together in one class, in comparison to when they are separated by race.

4.3 Field observations

This step was suggested to me by the members of the classes that I interviewed as they felt it would aid me in my studies if I were to observe the students during break times. I took this advice and I set out four separate dates where I would observe all the students of the school during their first early morning break time. I merely observed the students and who they interacted with during these times. I made sure to keep my distance from the students and made notes and observations on my iPhone.

4.4 Method of analysis

These methods of data collection gave me access to an array of narratives to which I applied micro- and macro-content analysis (Pavlenko 2007:175) after which poststructuralist discourse analysis was applied, as used by Baxter (2002, 2008), to classroom discourse. In the chapter to follow, I will discuss my analytical framework in more depth.

5. Ethical considerations of the study

5.1 Ethical clearance

In order to begin with my research task, I had to obtain permission from three primary groups of people. I was granted permission to continue with my research by the school principal, the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) and by the Research Ethics Committee (REC) of Stellenbosch University.

5.2 Ethical considerations

For the classroom interviews and focus group interviews, I had to make sure to get signed individual consent forms from all those who were willing to participate in this study. For the focus group interviews, all of the participants that volunteered for the interview were 18 or older, therefore there was no need to obtain parental consent. In both cases, the participants were made aware of the fact that their participation in the study would be anonymous and that the school and their name would not be mentioned. I also made it clear that the data received from the interviews would be kept and seen by only me and my supervisor on a password-protected computer. It was important that this information was understood and agreed to due to the sensitive subject of inquiry.

As the conversation revolving around race can be viewed as a sensitive topic, I ensured that the participants were informed that, after the study had been conducted, if any of them had any further issues relating to the topic of research, they were able to contact their school counsellor. If they did not feel comfortable with that option, I also advised them that my supervisor for the research study could also be made available to talk about the issues that had affected them.

In the chapter to follow, I will go into further detail about my analytical framework of choice, namely poststructuralist discourse analysis.

CHAPTER 5: POST STRUCTURALIST DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the importance of analysing language and the way that it is expressed in order to demonstrate that the study of discourse is “central in constructing identity and in constructing as well as reflecting social change” (McKinney 2007a:215). I will expand on Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA) and on how this method of data analysis differs from the more popular method of discourse analysis, namely Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Lastly, I will argue why FPDA was the chosen tool of analysis by referring to my methodology and the aim of my research.

2. Why Discourse Analysis?

In order to have a better understanding of FPDA, it is important firstly to understand what discourse analysis is and why linguists use this tool in their research. Language plays a more important role than merely as a form of communication. Through the method of discourse analysis, linguists are able to analyse written and spoken text to provide insight into how we use words in order to organise and shape our lives and experiences. It is not in only the words that we use that we can gain insight into how people shape their experiences, but also in the manner in which we organise meaning through our spoken and written texts (McKinney 2007a:215).

There are, however, many different approaches to how to analyse language use. For example, some linguists choose to study the ‘content’ of the language being used in order to gain perspective on the issues or the themes that are being discussed in spoken or written text. There are also linguists that prefer a more generative approach to discourse analysis. By analysing the structure, or the grammar of language, this type of discourse analysis allows for the study on how these structures function together in order to help to make meaning of specific contexts (Gee 2010:8).

The question remains as to why we choose to analyse discourse. The descriptive discourse analysts answer this question by stating that the reason for discourse analysis is for the

purpose of describing how language works in order to understand it. It can be described as a similar act to that which physicists perform, in which physicists try to describe how the physical world works in order to understand our world. The critical discourse analysts will, however, provide a different answer to this question. The goal of a critical discourse analyst is not only to describe how language works in order to understand the aspects of language themselves, but rather to gain deeper explanations as to how language can be used in order to gain perspective on “social or political issues, problems, and controversies in the world” (Gee 2010:9). Critical discourse analysts tend to share the belief that by pursuing the purely descriptive analysis of language, we are evading our social and political responsibility.

Gee (2010) argues in his book titled “An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method”, that all forms of discourse analysis need to be critical, not because discourse analysts need to be concerned with society and politics, but because language itself has its place in society and politics. He goes on to explain that language “gains its meaning from the ‘game’ or practice of which it is a part and which it is enacting” (Gee 2010:9). He further argues that:

That such ‘games’ or practices inherently involve potential social goods and the distribution of social goods, which I have defined as central to the realm of “politics.” Thus, any full description of any use of language would have to deal with “politics.” Beyond this general point, language is a key way we humans make and break our world, our institutions, and our relationships through how we deal with social goods. Thus, discourse analysis can illuminate problems and controversies in the world. It can illuminate issues about the distribution of social goods, who gets helped, and who gets harmed.

(Gee 2010:10)

This extract provides the clearest explanation as to why I chose discourse analysis for my research. Dealing with the topic of race, inclusion and exclusion, discourse analysis allows for me to illuminate any problems that exist within our educational institutions and I can provide insight into those students who are being harmed and those who might need more help to make their voices heard.

3. Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis vs Critical Discourse Analysis

FDPA is a method of analysis that has largely been used in the field of identifying gender bias. It is only in recent years that this method of analysis has been used in areas such as classroom discourse (e.g. McKinney 2007a, 2007b). For the purpose of this study, I will focus on how FPDA has been transformed from the gender inequality field to that of research on diversity in the classroom. It is for this reason that in this section I will be referring largely to the work done by Baxter (2008) who has lead the research on how FPDA can be used in analysing classroom discourse (Baxter 2002, 2003). I will first outline the core differences between FPDA and CDA.

There are many approaches to discourse analysis, but of all of these, FPDA has the most in common with CDA. There are many similarities to these methods of discourse analysis, but the more important point lies in the differences that these two fields have. These two methods of discourse analysis have “contrasting outlooks on the world and seek divergent outcomes” (Baxter 2008:2). CDA formed from post-Marxism ideologies, where FPDA’s theoretical roots are based in postmodernism, where the goal of the latter is more epistemological rather than ideological like CDA (Baxter 2008:2).

CDA, as defined by Fairclough (2001:123), is viewed as:

An analysis of the dialectical relationships between semiosis (including language) and other elements of social practices. Its particular concern is with the radical changes that are taking place in contemporary social life, with how semiosis figures within processes of change, and with shifts in the relationship between semiosis and other social elements within networks of practices.

Baxter (2008) highlights three points that form the three primary differences between FPDA and CDA. The first of these is that “FPDA does not have an emancipatory agenda, but a ‘transformative quest’” (Baxter 2008:3). What this means is that CDA tends to serve more of an ideological agenda, as stated above, and that CDA is more committed to focusing on social problems that exist in our community, thereby giving a voice to those that form part of the oppressed. FPDA, however, cannot fully support a theoretical or political ‘mission’ that could one day become its own “grand narrative” (Baxter 2008:3). What FPDA can do,

however, is provide support for “small scale, bottom-up, localised social transformations that are vital in its larger quest to challenge dominant discourses that inevitably become grand narratives” (Baxter 2008:3). This extract provides one of my first reasons behind selecting FPDA as the method of data analysis for my research topic.

In the study that I am conducting is a rather small case study which primarily focuses on the students’ perspective of the macro-environment that surrounds them and the effects that it has on the way in which they use language to make sense of this world around them. My aim for this research project is not to make political points, but rather to highlight the need for social transformation in regards to the manner in which we conceptualise race.

FPDA is also seen to give a voice to those who are very often overlooked in society. It is for this reason that FPDA is better suited “to small-scale, ethnographic case studies in which subjects have some degree of agency to change their conditions” (Baxter 2008:3). This aspect of FPDA is the second reason that I decided to choose this form of discourse analysis for my research. In my previous study, I focused solely on the voices of the marginalised students in the school. I only interviewed the students that were indeed marginalised in a space that they were free to open up about the issues that concerned them. In the current research project, however, I conducted classroom interviews with a variety of students. By using the FPDA approach, I hope to show how the voices of students that are often overlooked come forth in the classroom discourse and that the environment that is created allowed the students to feel safe about opening up on the topics of race.

The second differentiating point that Baxter (2008:3) provides, is that “FPDA believes in complexity rather than polarisation of subjects of study”. As stated before, CDA has an emancipatory agenda. Due to this point, CDA tends to polarise the subjects that are being studied into two groups – the people, groups and systems that have power of other and those people who then are less powerful. FPDA, on the other hand, is concerned not to polarise its subjects in this manner, but rather to suggest that the constant interaction of competing discourses will show that the subjects flow between positions and discourses of power and powerlessness. FPDA can therefore assist the researcher in pinpointing when speakers’ discourses shift between these two levels and it can also provide insight into why there are these sudden shifts of power (Baxter 2008:4).

The last differentiating point between FPDA and CDA that is offered by Baxter (2008:4) is that “FPDA is anti-materialist in tendency”. One of the more popular characteristics of CDA

is that it assumes that discourse works dialectically, meaning that the discourse is shaped by real or material structures, situations or events. Contrastingly, FPDA uses an anti-materialist stance. What this means is that FPDA assumes that when we are born, we enter this world that is “infused by competing discourses” (Baxter 2008:4) and we make sense of this world by using discourses of pre-existing knowledge which has a constant influence on our experiences and thoughts. This point also served as a reason for my selection of this form of data analysis, but more due to a personal opinion and experience. As mentioned before, I grew up in England where I was constantly surrounded by different races, religions and cultures. Growing up, I was not aware of the fact that people were regarded as ‘other’. However, when moving to South Africa and being placed in the South African schooling system, I was surrounded by discourses of race. Whether it was in the environments surrounding me (family and friends) or the fact that it is taught in schools, I suddenly became aware of the discourse of the ‘other’. I selected FPDA in order to see whether this could also be true for others than myself.

In conclusion, FPDA provides a platform for multiple voices and accounts to be illuminated, a definition that is described by Bakhtin (1981) as “polyphony”. FPDA aims to include the voices of those that are seen as the minority, and it allows these voices to be heard amongst the voices of more openly recognised accounts. This in turn allows for those who are usually silenced to be heard (Baxter 2008:5).

CHAPTER 6: DATA ANALYSIS - CLASSROOM INTERVIEWS

1. Introduction

In this section, I will discuss and analyse both sets of collected data: the classroom interviews and the focus group interviews. In this chapter, I will set out to answer both of my research questions, firstly, by looking at how issues of race and identity are discursively constructed by students (black, coloured and white), by teachers and through classroom practices, and secondly, by highlighting the differences between the classroom and focus group discourses.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the recorded classroom interviews took place after I had already spent a session with the students a week before. The intention behind only recording my second meeting with them was that I wanted the students to feel more comfortable with me as the researcher. As the topic of cultural and linguistic diversity was discussed with them in the first session, the students were already familiar with the topic which allowed for a more open discussion.

In both the classes that I interviewed, the coloured students constituted the majority of the groups, with only a handful of black and white students taking part. In the focus group interviews, I interviewed each race separately in order to assess whether there is hesitancy and avoidance when discussing the topic of race in a multiracial classroom setting. This chapter will be discussed in terms of the primary themes that emerged during the interviews on how the students perceived race in their educational setting, in terms of the educational structures, teachers' role definitions and student relationships.

2. Separation of races outside of the classroom

Within the time that I spent at the school, an interesting fact was revealed to me during the classroom interviews. I was told that at breaks, all the races sat separately. The white students with the white students, the black students with the black students, and the coloured students with the coloured students. This was something that I did not expect in a school that is as diverse as the school in question. Due to the diverse nature of the school, my expectations were that there would be integration amongst the students, yet the only occasion where

integration took place amongst the students was when it came to the apparent “smoking spot” in the school. This was said to be the only time that the races would mix, which prompted me to ask the students what they thought the reason was behind the separation.

Carla: Alright. So how do you guys feel about that? Is it odd? Okay why, why do you think. Okay who can tell me why they think it happens. Name?

Michaela: I think...

Michaela: Uhm. Sorry, the white people, they speak mostly Afrikaans, they can't speak English. So basically we can't mix because we are more English speaking than they are Afrikaans speaking. And they don't sometimes understand or they can't speak English. And like you know like coloureds, we have our own, we've developed our own language. We have a way of speaking to each other and as well as the Africans they speak their language so I guess it's just the language thing that got us like separated.

In this extract, a coloured girl by the name of Michaela is speaking. When I asked the class why they think that the students all sit separately at breaks, she immediately mentions that the white people in the school are mostly Afrikaans. From my observations and from the collective interviews that were done, this observation was indeed true. Most of the white students are Afrikaans-speaking in the school and the white students also form part of the minority group in terms of number. In fact, in Michaela's class, there are only two white students. The interesting observation that can be made here is that she says the white Afrikaans people *can't* speak English and that is why they *can't* mix with the other students. The school in question is a dual-medium school, with the languages of instruction being English and Afrikaans. From Grade 10 onwards, the academic classes merge the Afrikaans and English students, with teachers having to use both languages in classroom time. In a school that is structured in this manner, Afrikaans and English students are, in the majority of cases, able to speak and comprehend both languages. This is a necessary skill in order to ensure academic success. Therefore, Michaela stating that the white Afrikaans-speaking students are unable to speak English is highly unlikely in a dual-medium school. She also mentions that the coloured students speak *their* own language. The same goes for the 'African' students. If these students were unable to speak or understand Afrikaans or English, there would be no way for these students to achieve academic

success in the school. They are able to communicate in English, or in some cases Afrikaans as well, yet according to Michaela both races prefer not to. This is the reason why she thinks that it is an issue of language, not race, that causes the students to be separated at break times. The students simply want to speak their own languages during breaks. This question was asked again in the second class that I interviewed and Chante, a coloured girl provided a similar answer:

Chante: (Inaudible) ...they wouldn't find it difficult to go make friends with that person. Whereas, uuuum, you wouldn't make friends as easily with someone of a different race. Its, there's something...I don't know, most of the white children are Afrikaans, so they find there is a language barrier.

In this extract of the classroom interview, Chante, seemingly hesitant about her answer, shares the views of Michaela by stating that most of the white children in the school are Afrikaans-speaking. However, she takes the language matter even further by stating that coloured students would find it difficult to become friends with members of another race because of this language *barrier* that exists between the different groups.

The irony of this type of argumentation is that it is similar to the discourse of the former white schools used after apartheid ended. Many of these schools, due to the ambiguity of the SASA (1996), argued that they had the right to maintain the status of being an Afrikaans school due to the fact the SASA (1996) gave the governing bodies that ran the school control over the language policy of the schools. This was then used in order to exclude black English-speaking students from former white schools, where language was used as justification for the exclusion of races. This language argument is now being used again, and it has transformed to the point that language is being used in order to justify the fact that the different races in schools seem to be excluding themselves from one another based on these language "barriers".

Similar answers to these were made in the focus group interviews that I conducted with the white and the black students, yet the issue of the language barrier was left out. When conducting the focus group interview with the black students, Sinazo, after another student mentions that fact that she associates herself with other black people, goes on to say:

Sinazo: ... There is like literally a group of, my group sometimes I don't chill with her, but she chills with like a coloured girlfriend and friends and then I

chill with my like, there's like literally a group like by (behind the tuckshop) behind the tuckshop ya, there's like a group of black kids and then there's ya, and then there's like the coloured people are this side, this side of the world (yea) and then there's like white people in the shade (on the other side of the world) (in the shade)

Sinazo: It's just like it's in our heads now, it's like our mentality like okay white side (it's like) I don't know.

Sinazo mentions the fact that this type of separation that occurs at breaks “is in their heads now” and that it forms part of their “mentality”. This type of language is very suggestive of a pattern that has formed in the school which, according to another black student – Carl – has stemmed from the observations they have made since they entered the school in Grade 8. Carl mentions in the classroom interviews that he does not believe that the separation – or as he calls it, “segregation” – during break times is a result of race, but is merely due to the fact that there is an open place for students to sit.

Carl: [...] the previous year's Matrics left. So now there's an open spot for you to sit, and when you sit there, it is really hard to find somewhere else to sit constantly all the time. And I think the reason why all the white kids are always in the shade is because the previous year's Matrics used to sit in the shade, so now the grade 11 white kids, they just move up into the shade when they are Matric. So it's not really a thing of segregation, it's just a thing of there's an open space.

What Carl does not realise is that, even though he is clear to state in the interviews that the separation or “segregation” is not due to a racial divide, what he is describing in the above extract is a racial divide that has become a pattern in the school. As Sinazo says, it has become part of their “mentality” due to their observations of the previous year's students. It seems that the students have created their own structural implementation of race of which the division of space has become an important part. This type of separation based on race is exactly the same as the divisions that were implemented by law under the apartheid government, yet here, it is done by choice. Due to these observations, i.e. that different races

sit separately, the new students also feel the need to sit with other students of their own race in order to fill this “open space” that was left there for them.

This pattern is mentioned again by the white students in their focus group discussion. When I asked the students where they “hang out” at breaks, Francois answers:

Francois: There’s um cement *bankies*⁶ there. That’s like what you aim for since grade 8.

The discourse in the classroom interviews and in the focus group interviews conducted with the white and black students seemed to evolve around the same idea that, due to the linguistic diversity in the school, there are different languages spoken by different races. This is then used to justify why the different races prefer to “associate” themselves with members of their own race, ignoring the factor that most of the students interviewed are bilingual or even trilingual. This type of separation is then further explained as *not* being connected to race due to the fact that this pattern of separation at breaks was started by previous students of the school and they are simply following their actions. These themes occurred during all the interviews, yet, in the focus group interview with the coloured students, a different story is told.

Previously, it was stated that in the classroom interviews that the only area where the students mixed during break times was the smoking area. This was told to me by a coloured student. Yet, when asked the same question about the separation at breaks, I am given different answers.

Jamie: Even there by the smokers né, and I like use to stand there with Aiden, the white people are still separate from the coloureds (Yes) Like you get the white smokers in the mornings [...]

Jolene: And like I will go there ‘cause, like if my friends are standing there or whatever and then the white people are like, there is actually a clear division, like the white people literally sit here and and they smoke like in the gutter thingy and then the coloured boys are like standing by the bin and then if I go and stand there just a little bit closer to the white people it’s like (softer) why is she why is she here? Like I feel so

⁶ *Bankies* is the Afrikaans term for “benches”.

uncomfortable if I'm standing there 'cause it's almost like "Oh god what's that coloured person [...]"

Michaela: The Afrikaans coloureds, they also seem to stick with each other (Yes) and with themselves.

Jolene: Yes the Afrikaans coloured people they stay, yea they don't go with the English Afrikaans people.

Michaela, the coloured student who previously stated in the classroom interviews that language is the reason behind the separation at breaks, says something a bit different here. She states that the Afrikaans coloured students also stick with each other, to which the other student states that the Afrikaans coloured students will not mix with the Afrikaans white students at break. I then go on to ask the coloured students the following:

Carla: So do you think the divide is more language than race or?

Chante: It could be, but I think its race more.

Michaela: 'Cause the thing is (inaudible) in own class we mingle like some people, I dunno if you still have mixed classes but we used to having mixed classes then it was fine [...]

Carla: Why do you say it has to do with race?

Danalia: Because even if our, the white people be English, they still go and sit with *those* white people, they wouldn't come sit with us. Uhm, so and I don't think it really has much to do with language.

Danalia: And they can understand English and we can understand Afrikaans so that can't be the barrier (mmm, Yea, Ya)

Chante: Can't be the language barrier

Here, Chante's hesitance in her answer during the classroom interviews can be understood. It could be due to the fact that during the classroom interviews she is in a class with both white and black students. In this situation, she might feel a little less comfortable talking openly about the topic of race. In her focus group answer, she says without hesitation that the separation cannot be attributed to the language barrier, but rather to that of race, as not even the coloured Afrikaans people will mix with the white Afrikaans.

This is a clear indication on why the use of FPDA is important in these types of small ethnographic studies as it gives voice to those students that are often overlooked. FDPA, as mentioned before, aims to provide multiple voices on accounts, which equates to Bakhtin's (1981) principle of "polyphony". According to Baxter (2008:5), what this means is that FPDA provides:

space in a discourse analysis for the coexistence of distinctively different voices and accounts, such as those of the research participants, other researchers on the project, and possibly even people who review and comment on the research.

In this case, we have students who are providing me with not only distinctively different voices, but also contradictory voices. The difference seems to stem from the environment that the students are in. The general consensus from the other students in the classroom, in both classroom interviews, was that the separation of the races during break times can be attributed to the fact that there is a language barrier. We see that these coloured students seem to have multiple voices at play, and this could be due to the fact that during the classroom discourses, these students use language that has been "borrowed" by others in the classroom. The master narratives that are used in the classroom discourse are having a clear impact on the students' individual narratives. These students did not feel safe to open up about their true feelings on the topic of race during the classroom discourse, but were eager to voice their opinions during the focus group interviews.

What Chante seems to be doing is using the language barrier as a euphemism for race when in a multiracial setting, which is an issue that can be noticed in topics surrounding race in South Africa. This supports McKinney's (2007a) finding that the terms "race" and "culture" were either used next to each other in classroom discourse as a manner of avoiding the term "race", or they would instead use "culture" as a euphemism for "race" in order to avoid having to use the latter term which has such overt connections to the apartheid history and to the term "racism".

With regard to avoidance, I feel that the white and the black students take it a step further as they avoid using the term “race”, or even a euphemism thereof; they simply suggest that the racial divide is due to a pattern that has formed over years. The students, in one way or another, seem to be separating themselves and their social spaces in terms of race. As mentioned before in this section, this is a very familiar situation to that which was enforced by the apartheid government, yet here, the students are *choosing* to separate themselves from the other races. Whether the students have consciously made this choice, and justified their actions due to the language barriers that exist between them, or if it is done by unconsciously following the pattern of racial segregation employed by previous students, I feel that there is a great level of uncertainty surrounding the “why” of their actions. I believe that these students feel awkward to talk about the topic of “race” openly due to many contributing external factors that will be discussed in further sections of this chapter. However, I will begin by expanding on the notion of the ‘vibe’ that was often mentioned by the students.

3. The “vibe” between students

During my period of data collection at the school, the notion of a ‘vibe’⁷ was brought up by the students. This ‘vibe’ was mostly said to exist between the black and the white students, but it was also experienced by the coloured students when referring to white people. The adjectives “awkward” and “uncomfortable” were also often used to describe the “vibe”. In this section, I will be discussing the two primary areas where this “vibe” is felt, namely between the black and white students and between the coloured and white students.

3.1 The “vibe” between the black and white students

The notion of the ‘vibe’ was first introduced by a coloured student in the classroom interviews after discussing one of their teachers in the school. Not too long after this, the conversation was abruptly swayed from that of the teacher-student relationship in the school to that of white and black people in general.

Ian: I just like ja, find it interesting, but white people don’t actually know how to react to black people.

Carla: Uh?

⁷ “Vibe” is a term that is not formally part of the English lexicon, but in recent years it has emerged more commonly in discourse. The colloquial and agreed-upon definition of a “vibe” is a distinctive emotional atmosphere that is sensed intuitively by someone.

Nomisa: I feel awkward.

Carla: No but now, that's an interesting topic. Do you feel, you feel awkward now, do black people feel awkward with white people?

Nomisa: I do.

Class: Laughing.

Carla: Why? Cause you are the only one that can speak for all of the black people. Why do you feel awkward?

Nomisa: I don't like it.

Nomisa: Like, I don't know...(inaudible)... in Mugg and Bean. Yesterday in class. Anyway, so like, we like go a lot to Somerset Mall, me and my mother. And then afterwards like we go like to Mugg and Bean, and like there are lots and lots of white people. OK, so we walk in and there are like a lot of white people. And we are busy walking in and they're like...(makes gestures suggesting people staring).

Class: Laughing

Nomisa: But but, now like you feel so uncomfortable.

Carla: And, but like at school, do you also feel like, that you get like a negative kind of vibe?

Nomisa: A bit ja, a bit. Because like, for example Carmen would be like "let's go there by the trees", and I know by the trees there are a lot of white people...

Class. Laughing.

Unknown: Then I am like, "Naaah, it's cool."

Carla: Okay, as the white person on the topic, why do you think you feel awkward?

Francois: I don't know, there is just a barrier there, there's a buff there, it still needs to be broken down, and...

Nomisa: But, like I said, I feel uncomfortable with white people, but for example, if you were just two, I wouldn't feel uncomfortable, but if it would be like a lot...

Nomisa: Like, joh ... Because like in class we are chilled, we do speak but we won't be like touchy touchy, ja. We are not that close.

This extract illustrates many perceptions from both the white and the black students. Ian is a black student that does not identify himself as a “proper” black as he does not speak an African language. He had also mentioned to me in our previous encounters that other black African people treat him negatively due to the fact that he does not speak any African language. Yet, with this in mind, he still feels that white people do not know how to react to black people. Although Ian does not expand on this, Nomisa – also a black student – goes on to mention that she feels awkward around white people. She justifies her feeling this way by telling me a story about her feeling uncomfortable in a Somerset West coffee shop as a result of white people staring at her and her mother when they walked in to the establishment.

Although this event happened outside of school, Nomisa is bringing these experiences with her into the school. This is a very good example of how forces and experiences that occur in one's macro-environment can have a direct impact on one's micro-environment. Somerset West is a town in the Western Cape with 60.1 % of its residents being white (Census 2011) and only 13.0 % being black. In this environment, black people are statistically the minority race. Due to this reason, Nomisa feels uncomfortable or even threatened by this large group of white people who seemed shocked by the presence of a black person in the restaurant. These types of experiences that she has encountered with white people cause her to feel “awkward” around white students in her school to the extent that she will avoid going to certain places in the school because white people are there. She goes on to mention that she

only feels uncomfortable when there is a group of white people, but that in class they are “chilled”. When she states that they are “chilled” in class, it gives a sense of tolerance felt by the students, which is supported by her saying that the black and white students are not “close”. This sense of tolerance felt towards the white students is a feeling that is shared by other black students as well.

In the focus group interviews done with the black students, the topic of this “vibe” that exists between the two races once again emerged. Lali was explaining that she had transferred from a school in Sea Point, which was predominantly black, to the current school. When she came to this school, she was so used to being surrounded by her “race and stuff” that when she saw black people in her new school, she naturally befriended them. She then goes on to say:

Lali: [...] as the year went by I mingled with coloured people, obviously in class and stuff and then until now I don’t think I have white friends (Carla: is it?). I do speak with them (ya) like you know (Sinazo: they acquaintances not very much friends) ya [...]

Here, Lali mentions that she does speak with white people, but that she is not actually friends with any white people. Sinazo interjects that white people are viewed as “acquaintances”, not friends. This is not the first time that Sinazo has mentioned that she does not have any white friends. Earlier in the focus group interview, she mentioned that the reason that she does not have any white friends is due to an incident that happened at a “kuier”⁸ earlier the year. In the classroom interviews, one of the other black students first informed me about the incident that occurred:

Carl: So like this white kid is like “Boohoo”, and like stuff. And then he like started throwing stones ... and then my friend threw stones back at him, then (in a mocking Afrikaans accent) he was like “Hey, why you throwing me wif stones?” And he was like obviously throwing her with stones, and like he just made this whole fuss about it, I think because he felt he was more powerful than her, so he would be believed more. And then like she basically got like the, my friend is black, like she basically like got the, the worse side ...

⁸ “Kuier” is a word that is used in certain varieties of Afrikaans to refer to a party.

Carl: When you see like, the white people, some white people drunk, especially the males, you can really see the like, their old, like their old South African culture ...

Sinazo mentions in the focus group interviews that it is because of this incident that she feels uncomfortable around white people. After this isolated incident which left her feeling inferior, she would rather distance herself from *them* as she is scared that something like that will happen again. This is again another example of how isolated events that happen outside of school can cause the perceptions and attitudes of students to change in the school environment. What I understood from the black students is that this “vibe” that exists between the students is primarily due to events that have occurred with white people in general outside of the school. This impacts their willingness to become friends with white students due to their “fears” of feeling uncomfortable around these students.

The white students share similar feelings. When the topic of white people not knowing how to act around black students was introduced, Francois – a white student – believes that the awkwardness that exists is due to the fact that there are “boundaries” that need to be broken down. After the discussion about the “vibe” occurred, I asked the students whether they felt that this “vibe” comes from their parents or from the environment that they are in. Francois answers this question by stating that he was brought up in a racist family.

Francois: I was like the rebel. Ummm, I learnt to accept people are different colours, I had to learn myself. So, I was brought, how can I say it, I was brought up in a family that’s mostly hating black people and hating coloureds. I’m just...

Unknown: He is dating a coloured...

Nicole: For example, my parents, uuuuhm, making racist comments. Basically when we go to the beach...

Carla: Sorry, Nicole?

Nicole: Yes, Nicole. When we go to the beach and see interracial couple, and my mother will be like “Ooooh, they just like the white girls now,

they go for the white girls”, like all the brothers (inaudible) she’ll be like “They just want the white girls now.” It’s just love...so.

Francois describes himself as the “rebel” of the family because he learnt to accept that people are different colours by himself, and despite the fact that his family “hates” black and coloured people, he is still dating a coloured girl. The use of the word “rebel” is interesting as this word describes “opposing or taking arms against a government or ruler” or simply people in authority. He feels the need to oppose his parents’ beliefs on race in order to befriend or even date another race. This act should not need to be seen and described as a rebellion, but rather as a natural instinct.

Nicole, the only other white girl in the class, also feels that these “barriers” that exist come from her parents. She mentions that her mother makes racial remarks towards interracial couples when they are at the beach. During the focus group interviews, Francois (who is very quiet and hesitant to speak in the classroom interviews) opens up a bit more on the topic of his racial upbringing. He shares with me that it is really tough for him to bring home a coloured friend, only to be mocked by his family the next day. Another point is raised by the white students in the focus group interviews: these students feel that the awkwardness that exists between the two races can be attributed to the fact that the black students tend to swop to their own language and the white students perceive this as a means to gossip and be gossiped about:

Nicole: Ja, well technically when they want to gossip with someone they change over to their own language.

I But do you know they gossiping or do you like assume they gossiping?

Cammy: Body language ...

Nicole: You can feel it, you can see it in their body language that they gossiping.

In my literature review, I mentioned that in South Africa, the secondary cultural differences are the differences that surface when two groups of people come together. The secondary cultural differences that exist between the culturally diverse (minority) students and the mainstream (dominant) culture not only impact society as a whole, but tend to enter the educational sector

and influence the way in which students perceive those of a different culture (Ogbu 1992:10). In the above extract, one can see a similar situation yet in this case, the problem does not surface when the two cultures come together, but rather when two different *races* come together. Nicole is making the assumption based on the black students' body language, that when they are speaking in "their language", they are gossiping about the white students.

This could not possibly always be the case, yet the generalisation has developed that when they want to gossip, the black students switch over to "their own language". This attitude towards black students and their language could make it very difficult for both whites and blacks to break down the barriers that the students perceive between them as it seems that there is no effort being made by the white students to cross these cultural and linguistic boundaries that they themselves have created. The white students cannot provide me with an actual event or incident that they have experienced which may be the cause of this "vibe". The reasons they give are parental influences and assumptions made on why the black students speak in their own language. On the topic of body language, Nicole goes on to explain that she feels the "vibes" do not come from the white students.

Nicole: We can get along with them, it's just they throw the vibes to us like ...

Francois: They feel threatened against us (ya) (inaudible)

Nicole: We can see in their body language, that for some odd reason they threatened by us. It's nothing to do with the, it's nothing to do with us.

Here, similar to the black students, you also get a sense of tolerance from the white students. Nicole mentions that they "can" get along with the black students instead of choosing to say that they "do" get along with the black students. The reason behind this word choice is explained when she says that the white students can tell by the students' body language that they feel threatened by white people. These topics, however, are never brought up in the classroom interviews. It is only when talking to the different races separately that the black students admitted to being scared/fearful of white students due to events that have transpired outside their school lives and it is only when talking to the whites separately that they explain that they find it odd that the black students feel threatened by them. I feel that because of the

hesitance and avoidance that exists in talking about race in a multiracial setting, many issues – such as the “vibe” that exists between the students – are not openly discussed.

Instead, the white and black students seem to go along with this “vibe” and they use this as an excuse to avoid having to socialise or befriend the other race. From my analysis, this “vibe” that exists between the students is not due to anything that has directly happened to the white students, but rather their perceptions of the other race can be attributed to external factors such as their parental influence and misunderstood secondary cultural differences. The black students seem to use isolated experiences with white people in general as a reason not to mix with the white students at school as they are “afraid” of similar situations occurring. Both black and white students are using this “vibe”, largely created by others that are not in their educational setting, in order to exclude themselves from one another.

This act of exclusion does not, however, seem to be occurring when I ask the coloured students about this issue. The coloured students in this school are by far the majority race. In my previous study, the majority race in the school were the ones with which the minority race felt a sense of discomfort. However, in this school, both the minority races (black and white) have no issue with the coloured students. After the conversation about the boundaries that exist between the white and black students, I asked the class:

Carla: Do you guys feel about both, how do you guys feel about coloureds?

Class: Some members of the class saying “they’re chilled” followed by laughter.

Carla: Okay, and which race do you think is most chilled when it comes to...

Class: Coloureds...(Talking amongst themselves)

The comments that the coloureds in the school are “chilled” were the only comments that the black and white students had of the majority race in the school. Neither of the races, in their focus group interviews, revealed any notion of feeling threatened or feeling any “vibe” toward the coloured students. However, the coloured students seemed slightly less “chilled” in their focus group interview. The coloured students seem to believe that the white students

are scared of them and that the white students run the school, despite being the minority race in this setting. This will be discussed in the next section.

3.2 The “vibe” explained by the coloured students

The sentiment expressed by the coloured students that they experienced some sort of negative relationship with the white students was first revealed in the classroom interviews after I asked the class why they think the reason is that the students sit separately from one another at break times. A coloured student by the name of Adrian replied that he feels that the cause of the separation is due to the fact that the white students are scared of the coloured students.

This same notion of apparent “fear” expressed by the white students was revealed to me in more detail during the focus group interviews. Danalia, one of the more vocal coloured students that I interviewed, described an incident that happened at school where a white Matric boy bumped into her in the passage. When she confronted him about not apologising, he simply walked away. She found these actions to be quite strange as, according to her, “white people at the school kind of tiptoe around”. When asked about this “tiptoeing”, a very interesting discussion ensued about the fact that white people are perceived as being scared of the coloured students.

Carla: But now when you say now the white people usually tiptoe...

Group: Mmm think they kinda scared of us (they scared)

Jolene: I think they think that we are trying to run and hit them or something...

Carla: But do you guys then feel you get more of an attitude from the white people than you do from the black people?

Jamie: Definitely

Danalia: (mumbling) black people are soo chilled (yea)

Chante: And they friendly too (mumbling)

Danalia: You can literally go sit over there ya

- Chante:** I think white people they just like avoid like making eye contact or talking to us or like even smiling, when you walk past them they don't...
- Jolene:** They like they don't know if they should smile or not
- Danalia:** Scared they're gonna get stabbed (laughing)
- Jamie:** The only time they associate with the other races is whether they in the class or not and then obviously it's just like like you can still see the separation...

The reason that Danalia gives for white people not wanting to interact with the coloured students is that the former are scared of the latter. This perception could be strongly fuelled by the stereotype that coloured people are violent, due to the large amount of coloured gangs in the Western Cape, although this would require further research. Without any confirmation that this is actually how the white student feels, it demonstrates the way in which she shapes herself as a coloured person in South Africa, as a member of the race that white people are afraid of.

The coloured students also state that the white students are less friendly than the black students. Similar to the views of the white students, the coloured students also feel that this could be due to the fact that the views of white students are influenced by their parents.

- Jolene:** ... so much things like that I think influences one's or how can I say, ya because like clearly your parent they tell you like "don't mix with that person, don't go for black girl or black boy, you shouldn't be talking with them, they are stupid" ...

This is not the only instance during these interviews where the white parents are blamed for the actions of their children. Another interesting observation made by the coloured students regarding parental influence on white students, is that they say that the white boys in the school will contact the coloured girls on Facebook and will "like" their pictures. But then, at school, the white boys will walk past these girls as if they do not know them or as if they have never seen them before. One of the girls told me that it makes her question whether there is something wrong with her.

In conclusion, the coloured students also feel that white students give off this "vibe" due to the latter being scared of the former, yet there is never a reason given for this. Coloured

students were also never mentioned by the white students at all so it can be said that this feeling is not mutual from the perception of the white students. The coloured students seem to prefer the black students to the white students as they describe the black students as being “so chilled”; a similar sentiment is expressed by the black students with regard to the coloured students. The question I ask is why the coloured students feel this “vibe” from the white students and not from the black students? This “vibe” became evident to me when I noticed that all the students referred to two different groups of white people; white English and white Afrikaans. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

4. The “vibe” from the teachers

As mentioned in the previous section, the notion of a ‘vibe’ that exists in the school between the different race groups of learners was mentioned on many occasions. This ‘vibe’, however, did not only exist between the students. Before the discussion of this section begins, it is important to note that the school’s staff is predominantly white. Of the 84 staff members, which include teachers and maintenance staff, only 14 of the staff members are coloured. The students also revealed to me that, of these, only four or five are teachers. It is also important to note that I did not investigate the teachers themselves, as I am not looking to prove whether the students’ accounts are true or false. The importance of these accounts is that they give us a clear indication of how the students perceive their roles in the classroom. I believe that the manner in which the students perceive themselves in relation to the teachers will give me access to their true feelings on race in the classroom.

The first time in all the interviews that this topic of the “vibe” was mentioned, was when a coloured student in the first classroom interview brought up the fact that one of her teachers, whenever they play their music in the class, asks the coloured students to switch off their “taxi music”. She then goes on to say:

Chante: And she doesn’t care if she insults us. There’s always like reference to her type her way of life, and she always makes the coloured people sweep the floor or close the windows. Or take out the bin, where Keenan. She always makes Keenan take out the bin.

Carla: Are there any other teachers that you feel, that give you that kind of like, bit of a different...

Unknown: Vibe.

Carla: Give you that kind of vibe.

Chante mentions here that she believes that the teachers in the school do not care if they offend the students. She also picks up on a theme that was previously discussed in the interview, which was about the type of pop-culture references that their teachers use in the classroom. She states that her teacher will always reference things that form part of her life (the teacher's). These findings are similar to those of Duff (2004), who found that teachers tend to use pop-culture references as an inclusive device in the classroom. However, in a diverse setting, teachers tend to use pop-culture references that suit the needs of the majority group, thus excluding those who form part of the minority.

In this study, the same can be seen. Teachers in a diverse setting are still using pop-culture references in class, but they do not suit the majority (the coloured students). Instead, they are more inclusive for the white students who form part of the minority. This is the first time where one can see that the majority group in terms of number does not necessarily constitute the majority group in terms of power.

Chante also states that the teacher tends to ask a coloured student to sweep the floor, close the windows or to take out the bin. This is not necessarily a racist act on the teacher's part. Given that the school has more than 1000 students who are coloured and that the coloured students are by far the majority in the classes, the probability of the teacher asking a coloured student is higher simply due to there being more coloured students than of the other races. I found Chante's utterance interesting as it seems to me that she takes offence to this teacher's request. This line of conversation led me to ask if any other teachers make the students feel this way, to which one student, whose name was not provided, talked about the "vibe" for the first time.

Unknown: Some teachers are okay like, they they don't have a problem with like I think the mixed race, but other teachers, oh no, I don't think they are too happy with us being around, like having to teach us.

Carla: Uh? So you still feel that way after ...?

Unknown: I think it's the older teachers that feel that way.

This is when I realised that, similar to the results from my previous study, in this former Model C school where the majority of students are coloured, and the minority black and white, students still get this feeling that some of the older teachers in the school are not happy that *they* (in this context, coloured students) are in the school and that the teachers *have* to teach them. This student also seems hesitant to make these assumptions about teachers due to her use of the word “think”. The use of this word suggests that the student is unsure whether or not this is the feeling of the teachers towards the coloured students; nonetheless the students feel a strong sense of “othering” from some of the older teachers.

It is interesting to note that the student makes sure to say that “other” teachers, which later is further distinguished as being the “older” teachers, make them feel this sense of exclusion in the classroom. Although never further discussed by the student, could this be a way of suggesting that teachers who do not form part of the “born-free” generation are the ones who are believed to be unhappy about teaching coloured students?

Whether it was in the classroom interviews or in the focus group interviews, all the different groups of students agreed with the fact that the teachers in the school favour the white students. There were countless examples of this occurring. One of the events that took place seemed to be a continuous chain of events.

Jolene: But like the teachers are like kinda unconscious to it... Taarique will walk into class, they walk in together they will both be like what ten minutes late for class, mam will shout “Taarique, oh my God you’re always” – the coloured boy – “Taarique you’re always late for class! Brandon just sit down please”, that I promise you the same situation.

Chante: I noticed also there was this one day that we walked past, I dunno if it was you with me of Chloe, I dunno, we were walk past, I think it was the period just ended and then next door to us was an Afrikaans class, and then I saw a lot of them were coming out the class and then they were like upset, they seemed upset, and this one girl walked out like “ja jou p# ek sal, (ya) ek sal net loop”⁹ and telling the teacher and then the teacher is just standing there and she's carrying on with the

⁹ Translated, this reads: "Yes you as**ole, I am just going to leave."

class and I was like what? I was like oh my word, we just have to back chat and like (mumbling)

Jolene: Brandon never does his homework never, and if Taarique doesn't do like one sum, mam just like give up on him, and like "Taarique I've just had get out just get out!". Brandon, if he doesn't do his, "Brandon (soft voice) please just do your homework, I know you can do this (just the first sum at least), just try". That's not even us in the class that's how it is.

There was another account that the students were very upset about, and this was that the white students were never sent to the T-class. The T-class was explained to me as a class (or "prison" as described to me by a coloured student) that the students are sent to during academic time if they misbehave. In this class they are not taught anything, and there is a teacher present to look after the students.

Carla: And if somebody had to say, OK ask you now, I'm asking you so I'm somebody what uhmm, how can I say, which which no, which race does the school favour?

Michaela: Uuuh white (white) (white people) (Yes)

Carla: Yes obviously? As in like you see it every day? (Uhmm yea) (The teachers that are selected) (whites don't go to T-class, whites don't get suspended, whites don't get expelled) (Exactly!)

Michaela: 21 years of freedom, if we had a coloured principal (hmm mmm)

Jolene: Have you seen a white person in the T-class before, somebody? (laughing) never (that is so true)

Michaela: Even the T-class teachers isn't white (Ya) (Inaudible).

In this extract, the coloured students were extremely opinionated and there was a lot of talking over one another. This discussion was tinged with a sense of urgency that these students had to inform me that, once again, white students are being favoured as they are not being excluded from classroom time like the "other" students. What this extract displays is that the coloured

students perceive teachers in the school to be favouring the white children. When later asked to expand on this topic, the students provided a very clear reason as to why they believe this is so.

Michaela: ... I think uhm, the teachers mostly have a problem with like uh with Xhosa speaking learners.

Carla: Is it?

Michaela: Because they mostly speak in their language and like the teachers don't understand at all what they are saying.

Carla: Is it?

Michaela: So I think they, I dunno, they feel, I dunno, offended almost most of the time.

Jolene: Because they're the minority. Because it's mostly English and Afrikaans, so if you get someone who is immediately different ...

Francois: The teachers do prefer white people. They favour the white.

Thora: It's because there's so many white teachers, they, that's the reason why they actually favour the white children. Because they can relate to them.

A very critical point is made by Thora here which relates to the teachers' role definitions that they bring with them into the classroom. Thora mentions that the white children are being favoured by the teachers because the teachers feel that they can relate to these students. Following this statement, I asked her if she would be more comfortable if she was taught by a coloured teacher, to which she replied affirmatively. What this shows, is that even though the coloured students are by far the majority, they feel a sense of exclusion from the teachers due to the dominant role definitions of the teachers in which they favour, according to the students, what is familiar to them. The coloured students feel that, even though they are the majority in the school, they are the minority in the classroom setting in terms of power, in comparison to the white students. This point is made very explicitly after conversations in the classroom interviews. When talking about the state of the country in terms of education, a statement is made by a coloured student about the school as a whole.

Danalia: Not in this school, this school is white school.

Chante: Mam, even though we the majority it doesn't matter.

Carl: It's a white school.

Carla: Why, why do you say it's a white school?

Danalia: It's a Afrikaans school. It is...the teachers.

In this extract, the coloured and the black students admit openly that this school, even though the majority of the students are coloured, is a white school due to the fact that it is an Afrikaans school and the teachers are Afrikaans. On numerous occasions, I was told that the teachers are primarily Afrikaans speaking and the students tell me that the teachers also, for the most part, speak Afrikaans in the school, thus making it a white school.

It seems that the students agree with a point that I made in my literature review, that in South Africa, the term "minority" has two different definitions: the first is that a certain population group is actually smaller than another population group. However, in terms of South Africa's educational system, "minority" is also used to describe the specific influence that a group exerts in society (Mothota and Lemmer 2002:106).

In the case of this school, the students perceive the teachers as being the entities that are exerting power over them as coloured and black students by openly favouring the white students. These dominating role definitions that the teachers seem to be displaying in the classroom can have an extreme impact on students. For example, the students on multiple occasions talked to me about their young white art teacher. The teacher apparently used an entire academic period to tell the students the "truth" about apartheid.

Michael: OK, so uhmm, I don't know how it even came up 'cause it's an art class, art, art, not history, anyway so then uhmm she's like uhmm firstly she doesn't really believe that Mandela went through the struggle uhmm he was on the island, on Robben Island for, he only only stayed in the prison for three days (gasp) and the rest of the time he was in a house on the island studying law, I firstly he had law, he had a law degree before he went, that's why he became the head of ANC because he could argue *stupid* anyway and he had a cook, they cooked for him and uhmm she doesn't understand why all these

people are so upset about apartheid because like it wasn't even that bad, you could like the black and the coloured.

Michaela: ... coloured and the black people could vote (mmm) they just had to pay a certain fee – ya, I don't know where that comes from.

Michaela: ... anyway and then uhmm what else did she say, and then she's like ya uhmm "the white people didn't ever really hold back the people of colour; all they had to do was actually just go and ask and actually fight for what like job you wanted to do, they didn't curb you at all". (Laughing) and I was like, "What?!" Like "You could go study at varsity if you wanted you just had to work really hard".

This account was told to me by both the coloured and the black students as some of the students that I interviewed take art as a subject. The one student even admitted to me that she recorded the entire rant by the teacher. This is a very extreme example of how important it is that teachers should not bring the dominant role definitions that they have with them into the classroom setting. In this instance, you have a young white teacher who should not have these incorrect views of apartheid, spending academic time trying to convince the class that *their* views on apartheid are incorrect. This situation causes students to become angry at this teacher and their attitudes toward her shift.

Similar to my previous study conducted only with black children, it seems as if the black children in this school also feel the need to cast off aspects of their own identity, such as their language, in order to achieve success as prescribed by the teachers of the school.

Sinazo: There was this other time, uhmm, this other time we, we were like chilling with my friends at break and everything, so no it wasn't break it was like we, we were gonna go to her class next period, so just chilling and chatting and obviously we Xhosa-speaking people so we gonna speak Xhosa anything, so she's like "This is a English and Afrikaans school. It's either you speak Afrikaans or English but not this black language". That's exactly what she said.

Lali: She does have a tendency when you speak another language other than English or Afrikaans, she will tell you straightforward, “Listen, you speak English or Afrikaans, not other other languages”. (But that day she said “black, black language”).

By bringing their personal role definitions with them to the workplace, these teachers are perceived by all the races to be favouring the white children. They are creating a clear exclusionary environment for the “other” students which in turn also seems to be causing a negative feeling towards a certain group of students, the white Afrikaans students. This will be discussed further in the chapter.

5. Educational structures

The educational structures that exist in South Africa exist out of policies, programmes, curriculum and assessment. Cummins (1997) states that it is usually the norm in countries that these educational structures are established in order to achieve the goals of the dominant group in a society where coercive relations of power exist. The macro-environment together with these coercive relations of power have a direct impact on the governing bodies of the schools. As mentioned before, in the SASA (1996), the government gave the governing bodies of schools control over the educational structures – such as assessment, language policies and admissions – within their respective schools. For this reason, many of the former Model C schools in South Africa that are still predominantly run by a majority white governing body, are still creating an environment in which there is clear discrimination. Not only is there discrimination, but also a discourse of exclusion towards those who form part of the “culturally diverse” group of students (see the previous section on the teachers).

Yet, what this study revealed, is that the students of the school did not seem to have strong feelings towards the language policy of the school. The students may have complained a handful of times that Afrikaans is the language most spoken, but never did a student voice their opinion on having English as the only medium of instruction. There were also no complaints or requests from the black students in terms of being educated in their own languages. When it came to the school directly, there were no objections regarding the school’s educational structures specifically. Where most of the outcry came about was in relation to the country’s educational policies and curriculum.

The students of all races had very strong objections about the way apartheid is integrated in such a large manner into the South African educational system. The students all agreed that apartheid is the primary theme of the prescribed literature that they are required to study in the language classroom.

Jolene: And it's not like, I, I, we're not saying that we should forget our history, we should still have like Mandela DAY, not Mandela month please, still have his day to remember our history because our history is who we are. But come on like we can take it out of our textbooks now, we can stop with the apartheid poems we can move on. Because I don't want, if I had to raise children in South Africa, I'm not gonna tell them about apartheid.

Jolene: Things that make you feel empowered as a student (things about life, things like woman empowerment) (about love, about stuff that we) poems about breaking up and falling in (yea, human rights) things that we can relate to like anything. Like if there was a poem like, if you compare a poem about apartheid and poem about a guy and a girl who is in like a domestic abuse relationship, which one are you gonna pay more attention to?

Jolene: All I'm saying is that we are the next generation and as I said I'm not gonna tell my kids about apartheid. I'll mention it to them like what happened to your grandparents but I'm gonna gonna stick them down to you have to feel this way or this is apar- . Like we're gonna move on and our children will probably not even have a notion about it will just be a word (hopefully).

Danalia: Nah we so over it, and I think it's everyone, I think the white people are a bit uncomfortable, but the rest of us, it's just like we don't care, it's got nothing to do with us, stop telling me about it, I don't care.

Jamie: Yaaa, like get over it, like it's so, it's like I think it's like the department, it's like giving us everything (I think so too) about apartheid. We know how da, why do you assume like, why do you feel the need to like...

Chante: They are keeping it alive, if they stop with it.

This excerpt, in my opinion, is the voice of a new South African generation. In this excerpt, Jolene makes very valid points. This discourse took part in the focus group interviews where the students were a lot more vocal with their opinions. She states that South Africans should not forget their history as their history is who they are, a point with which I agree. In this section, I am not suggesting that the history of apartheid should be eliminated from the South African curriculum; I think it is vital that the curriculum – especially in the language classes – does not only focus on one issue that may be impacting students' lives but also includes, as Jolene and a few other students in the interview state, literature and poetry on ending relationships, falling in love, domestic abuse, female empowerment, human rights and about topics that will empower them. It seems that the students as a whole have had enough of the fact that apartheid forms such a large part of what they do in the classroom. It is even suggested that due to the fact that apartheid forms such a major part of the curriculum, that the “[powers that be in the education] department” are the ones keeping apartheid alive.

Jolene, a coloured student whose family immigrated to Ireland and returned when she was in Grade 10, goes on to say that if she ever raise her children in South Africa, she will not teach them about apartheid the way she has been taught and, in doing so, she hopes that to them, apartheid will just be a notion. From my analysis, I found that this feeling of having apartheid forced upon them is shared by all students. In the classroom interviews, Jolene mentions that because she was raised in Europe, she never knew what apartheid was, and she did not have a notion of race. This is a similar view that I have as a result of growing up in England.

Jolene: ... I knew it was a word and it came up in our hist- ... you know what I'm lying, it never came up in our history, never I took, I took history from grade 2 up until grade 10 in Ireland, they never once, Ireland also has a lot of history but we do Russian history we do European history we do every-

Carla: You do history in general, not just South African history, world history.

Michaela: South Africa has to do with South Africa, why, why?

Jolene: You come to South Africa and all of a sudden you got this great divide and all of a sudden and you learn about apartheid, and I'm like, what is this I don't know what this is, like my parents would've mentioned

It is not only the coloured students that have an issue with the fact that apartheid forms such a large part of the curriculum. Carl, a black student, makes quite a powerful statement about this.

Carla: Okay, so you like them? Don't you like them? So I'm assuming, I, I'm assuming the ... why don't you want to do the apartheid poems anymore?

Carl: It's because apartheid has been shoved down our throats for so long, SO SICK. Like, okay! White people, they done some bad stuff, like Germany is ashamed of the Holocaust. Like why can't we be ashamed of apartheid? I'm pretty sure it's because black people have no shame ...

Here, Carl equates learning about apartheid, to learning about the Holocaust that took place in Europe during World War Two. Carl seems to be under the impression that apartheid and the Holocaust are on equal levels of international shame. And just as Germany is ashamed of the Holocaust, so South Africa should feel about apartheid, but yet – to use Carl's words – apartheid is still “shoved down our [students'] throats”. My analysis shows that the students feel that the curriculum is causing this exclusionary environment, as a few of the students stated that they grew up not seeing race until they came to school and were taught about the concept. It is only then that they started to *see* race.

Danalia: The fact that they constantly speaking about it puts it actually in our minds.

Carl: Ja.

Danalia: Like I grew up not seeing race, it was when I actually came to school that I started seeing it because that's kind of the way that they ... taught us.

The question seems to be, is the teaching of apartheid to such a great extent in our schools maybe not causing more harm than good? In my previous study, I drew similar conclusions. The students shared similar sentiments about apartheid forming such a great deal of the language curriculum. Said students, however, did not only feel this way due to the fact that they were "over it", but also because it made them feel awkward in the classroom setting. In the current study, I found that the students felt the same way.

Carla: Is it? Okay, but now as black students, I'm, do you guys feel awkward when you do the apartheid...

Qama: Yes, very awkward. They look at you all the time.

Carla: Okay, I'm going to move over here.

Qama: There was a look my direction, like, so black people suffered, and like this happened and then everyone is like (makes a gesture of turning around). Why can't we just stop talking about it? It makes me very awkward.

Carla: Okay but do you guys feel that um let's say if the school was more white do you feel that, if, is there any like awkwardness let's say in English class? Let's say you guys are doing a apartheid poems, do you ever feel awkward?

Francois: Yes.

Nicole: We feel awkward 'cause like everyone just looks at us and if something has to be mentioned like say now that whole Hitler thing and they will like now look at Francois and be like "ahh Nicole you totally the blonde and blue eyes" and I'm like "People, really".

Here, both the black and the white students agree that the fact they do poems about apartheid makes both groups feel awkward. Again, the notion of this "vibe" is apparent, and it seems as

if the constant inclusion of apartheid into the curriculum might be contributing to this “vibe” that exists between the black and white students.

Comments that completely caught me off guard were those made following a discussion about students of colour being more easily accepted into universities than white people.

Carl: But otherwise like, okay great, the black person is getting advantages and stuff but I think, like it’s kind of nearing like the unequal stage, so I think...because like white people are real minority now, so it’s like...

Danalia: Look, a lot of, a lot of people of colour are still disadvantaged. But, it doesn’t mean that the level of them getting into varsity must be lower. They can work just as hard.

Carl: And it’s kind, and its k of like BEE is shoving the country into the ground because now it’s just accepting people based on race, what if the white person kind of like got the cure for HIV and AIDS, but now he can’t study because he can’t get in...

Danalia: I’m so scared to go to a black doctor because I know that, that could have been maybe he’s properly, uuhm, properly educated, but I wouldn’t know that. But, black BEE.

This discourse took part in the classroom discourse, which is important to note. In this discourse one can sense that there is sympathy toward the white students. Carl says that even though it is great that he as a black student can get advantages, that over the years it has become “inequal” (unequal). This type of attitude reminded me of similar discussions that evolved after 1976 by the Open Schools Movement. The Open Schools movement recognised the fact that the educational structures put in place discriminated against the students of colour. Similarly, it seems that Carl shares these views, by providing an extreme example that if a white person were to discover a cure for AIDS, he cannot study due to the fact that he has been rejected on the grounds of race. Danalia openly admits that she is actually afraid of going to a black doctor as she feels he may not be properly educated.

Another question that we must start asking ourselves concerns the admission policies of our universities. Although these are put in place for, amongst other things, the purposes of

integration and transformation, what are the long-term consequences of these actions with regard to attitudes towards the other races and the rectifying of the “vibe”? The coloured and black students, when referring to the educational structures in the country, explained to me that they feel that although these structures have been put in place to rectify the wrongs of the past, these structures are doing more harm than good. As a whole, the students seem to feel that the educational structures that are meant for the purposes of inclusion and transformation, are causing more of an exclusionary environment. The students are tapping into the master narratives about transformation. In this transformed former Model C school, the students’ primary concern with the educational structures form part of the macro-environment. The students seem to feel that the educational structures are causing the issue of race to constantly be an issue in the classroom and, once again, there is an external force that is causing the students to exclude themselves from one another.

6. White Afrikaans vs. white English

Of all the themes that were brought up during the many interviews, the distinction made between white English vs. white Afrikaans was completely new and unexpected to me. In each interview, there was a very clear distinction that was made between the two groups, with preference shown towards the white English students, even by the white students that I interviewed. The distinctions were not always obvious, but a majority of the time, whenever white students were discussed, the English and Afrikaans distinction was always made. As I am not able to quote every instance in which the distinction was made, I will collectively discuss the blatant distinctions that occurred. The first time that this distinction appeared was by a white student by the name of Nicole in the classroom interviews. She expanded on this issue in the focus group interviews.

Nicole: Nicole. It is technically the language thing because me as English white, I hang out by the coloured side ‘cause as soon as I walk by the Afrikaans white people they look at me so strange and stuff, and I’m like “Really? I’m one of you guys.”

Nicole: I’m alright with the coloureds I get the mixed vibes when it comes to the Afrikaans people (lauging) ya (that’s a shame) Uhhh it’s just,

because I was raised English and stuff like that I'm just not used to an English person mixing better with the coloureds instead of their own race, but eh I'm trying to get used to it.

In this extract, Nicole says in both instances that she gets mixed “vibes” from the white Afrikaans students. She mentions that, due to the fact that she is an English-speaking white student, she gets along more with the coloured students in the school because they primarily speak English. She also mentions that she herself is getting used to the idea that an English white person actually gets along better with the coloured students than with their “own” Afrikaans counterparts.

This divide is more obvious when you take the case of Cammy and Francois. The two boys are cousins, Cammy being more Afrikaans speaking and Francois being more English speaking. When I asked the cousins whether they socialise with each other at break times, the answer was that they sometimes do break duty together, but other than that, not. The English white and Afrikaans white is then further explained to me:

Cammy: They like friends with the coloured ‘cause they in their class, you make friends with people in your class ‘cause you stick around in class and stuff ... and they obviously with coloured people in class and we you will hang out with those people.

Nicole: And then another thing is what you trying to say is there by the trees, okay there you'll get mix English Afrikaans, ‘cause that's the only place you'll not get caught (referring to smoking area). But majority you'll find one white person between that will probably be the English white person that stands out, but the rest is Afrikaans there against the wall or at the back.

Carla: And do you think that if you are in an Afrikaans class, now both you guys, if you were in fully Afrikaans classes that you would have few coloured friends?

Nicole: Probably.

Francois: Probably.

Nicole: ‘Cause they’ll associate us as the Afrikaans white, you do not associate with us.

Here it is explained by one of the white students that the only reason that the English and the Afrikaans whites sit separately is due to the fact that the English white people are in the same class and it is natural to become friends with the people in your own class. From personal experience, I can say that this is very true. This is why I believe that it is so important for integration to take place in the educational setting, in order for different races, cultures and languages to be placed together in order to become friends and to start breaking down these barriers that exist. This seems to be the attitude of these students, until I asked them if, hypothetically, they were placed in an Afrikaans class, not an English class, whether they think they would have fewer coloured friends, to which the white students answered, “Probably”. The reason for this is because the coloured students will associate the white English people with the white Afrikaans people, and the “other” students do not associate themselves with the white Afrikaans people.

This to me was very interesting. The English white students, who are in the minority in comparison to the Afrikaans white students, seem to be assimilating with the coloured group and identifying themselves more with the coloured students than the Afrikaans white students because, as Nicole says, “you do not associate with [the Afrikaans white people]”. From this study, it is apparent that the white students seem to divide themselves naturally into these two language groups, with the English white students being favoured over the Afrikaans white students. All the groups showed this aversion towards the Afrikaans white students.

Jolene: Nice like Nina and Kyle and them they like ya (the nice ones)

Michaela: Nice white people are the people from the Southern suburbs ‘cause they like English speaking and then...

Carla: But that’s like the only thing I’ve realised now. I never had to, until a few weeks ago when I first started here, I never knew people distinguished between white English and whites Afrikaans (Michaela: Yes! There’s a huge difference)

Jamie: Germans and those European people that came here, though close to those whites, are the Boer whites (The Afrikaans ones who are stuck in their ways) (They are far too white).

The coloured students share the views of the English white students, but attach apartheid discourse to their reasoning. Michaela states that the “nice” white people are the English students. Jamie, then says that the white students that are “close [to the] Boer whites” and the “Afrikaans ones who are stuck in their ways” form part of the “not nice” white people. In this discourse, you can see that in South Africa, language and race are definitely concepts and issues that are intertwined. This is largely due to the fact that during the apartheid era, Afrikaans and the people who spoke that language, were seen as the oppressors. This type of discourse is still apparent in this study.

The students as a group all have similar views on the fact that apartheid being taught as part of the curriculum is keeping the discourse alive, and these students are upset with the fact that it forms such a large part of the curriculum. Yet, without knowing, the white, coloured and black students are constantly making negative references towards the Afrikaans-speaking white students. This can be picked up throughout the interviews. There is a sense that the students are all in favour of integration and transformation in terms of race, but just not with the Afrikaans white students. This can further be seen when I asked the black students whether they feel their lives would be different if they were in a majority white school, and not a majority coloured school.

Carl: No, it depends on what kind of white people, there is Afrikaans white (yes) yes, if it is English white then I would be totally fine.

Carla: ... I pick this up that you guys make between Afrikaans white and English white (oh) (haha) is there a big difference?

Carl: (Yes) Huge difference, world of difference, you have no idea.

Carla: So, but now in an Afrikaans white school... will that be like your worst nightmare?

Group: Yes, yes (gasp) oh my goodness!

Sinazo: I, I wanna go back to my old school, ‘cause like it’s an art school and like and there were like a lot of English white people ... uhmmm it

was really fun there 'cause there were not, there were not a lot of Afrikaans English ... I felt comfortable there, there's not a lot of white Afrikaans people and most of the ... I'm not racists or anything but I felt more comfortable there because the people there were like from America (ya) and England.

Carla: And you Carl? Are you happy?

Carl: No, no, (laughing). If I could I'd go to like Reddam or like any Tokai, just somewhere far away like Constantia (Southern suburbs).

Carla: Because it's more English?

Group: (laugh) Yes.

The black students are the students that have the strongest feelings towards the Afrikaans white people which is very similar to the apartheid discourse. The students mention that being in a white Afrikaans school would be their worst nightmare. I then asked the students which school they would go to if they could choose to go to any other school. The students all made references to schools in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town (e.g. Constantia, Tokai, etc.), which is known to be more English than Afrikaans. Sinazo wishes she could go back to her old school, as there were fewer white Afrikaans students.

Despite the fact that the school was revealed to me by the students on numerous occasions as being majority coloured and also, in terms of number, English being the majority language spoken, coloured and black students still seem to have negative feelings toward a specific group of white students, the Afrikaans-speaking ones. From this analysis, it seems likely that language is the reason for the negative attitudes toward white students. But then Carl says something interesting, to which all the students agree.

Carl: I (sigh)... It's just because it more English and like it's more white English so I know they are more open like, but now I'm thinking like the white people in this school are only racist when they are all together, so I'm thinking now if I went all the way there, it's basically just white people so, maybe what if I get like the same thing there (ya) just in a different language (laughing) (it could be) ya!

He states that by going to a white English school, it might not be different, as white people (in his opinion) are always racist in a group, so he might just be receiving racism in a different language. This leads me to question whether language is really the issue then. This is a question that came to me in the classroom discussions surrounding separation of the races at break time.

Michaela: The Afrikaans coloureds, they also seem to stick with each other (Yes) and with themselves.

Jolene: Yes, the Afrikaans coloured people they stay, yea they don't go with the white Afrikaans people.

If language was the reason for the divide, why is it that the Afrikaans-speaking coloured students were only mentioned this one time? The Afrikaans-speaking coloured students are said to also keep to themselves and they do not mix with the white Afrikaans students. It seems that, even from the coloured students who speak Afrikaans, there is also an aversion towards the white Afrikaans-speaking students.

The continuous distinction that is made between white English and white Afrikaans in my analysis is the discourse that speaks most to the mindset of South Africa at the moment. It seems, by looking at all the interviews, that when it comes to white people, language and race are most clearly intertwined. The students' discourses do not agree on whether the issue is purely race, or the Afrikaans language and culture that is attached to that race.

Due to South Africa's history, with specific reference to the educational sector, white Afrikaans people and the speakers of the language were viewed as the oppressors. In the apartheid era, there was reasoning behind the aversion towards the white Afrikaans system, as the black and coloured students were legally disadvantaged in terms of education. However, 21 years after the end of apartheid, amongst these students, there still seems to be this aversion toward the white Afrikaans students in the school, without the latter having done anything directly to the students in question to account for this aversion. My conclusion on this matter is that the constant language distinction that is made with regards to the white students stems from the students of all races struggling to come to terms with the changing white identity after the end of apartheid. White students themselves seem to be struggling with their identity in the new South Africa, as they seem to be trying to disassociate themselves with the apartheid history by giving themselves new labels: white English and

white Afrikaans. The topic of changing white identities in a post-apartheid South Africa is an issue that I feel needs further research.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

In this study, I set out to investigate the way in which issues of race were discursively constructed in the classroom by students of all races in a former Model C school. My primary focus was on the discourse of inclusion and exclusion in the educational setting. The students that I interviewed all mentioned that the primary area in which they felt a strong sense of exclusion was from the teachers in the school.

It was revealed to me that all races perceived the white students to be given preferential treatment by teachers. This could largely be as a result of the dominant role definitions that the teachers have that are impacted by the dominant coercive relations of power that exist in society. Role definitions of teachers refers to the assumptions, expectations and the goals that teachers have and it refers to the way in which these teachers communicate with culturally diverse students (Cummins 1997:108). If a teacher adopts biased and dominant role definitions, this will be carried over into the classroom setting, and the “others” are then in a situation in which they are subordinate (Cummins 1997:109).

The preferential treatment of white students and the subordination of black students is a similar conclusion to that made in my previous study, where the minority black students felt that they were being excluded from the classroom setting because of their race. The major difference between my previous study and the current study is that in the previous school, the white students receiving preferential treatment were in the majority race in terms of number. In this study, however, the students who form part of the majority group are the coloured students yet the whites, who are in the minority in terms of number, are receiving preferential treatment. The black and the coloured students attribute this preferential treatment of the white students to the fact that the white teachers can “relate” to the white students. This attitude from the teachers causes the black and coloured students to believe that white students are seen as the norm in the eyes of the teachers, and the black and coloured students are viewed as a deviation from the norm – the “other”. What can be noted by this perception is that the increasing numbers of the black and coloured students in the school are not enough to change the power relations in the school, but rather that the social power still lies with the white students and teachers.

This, according to Nieto (2002), usually leads to cultural assimilation on behalf of the “other”. In the case of these students, the attitudes and actions of the white Afrikaans teachers

is causing the students of all races to create negative exclusionary relationships towards the white Afrikaans students in the school.

The teachers in the school are predominantly white Afrikaans. As such, the coloured students, who are the majority in the school, admitted that even though they are the majority in terms of power, the school is still a white school. In saying this, the coloured students are highlighting the predominant theme that occurred during the interviews, that even though the school has transformed in terms of student demographics, there has been no transformation in terms of power. Even though the school consists mostly of coloured students, these students do not feel that they have power in the school. The students feel that, because the school is staffed by a majority of white teachers, the coloured and the black students become the minority in terms of power.

These results agree with the statement made by Cummins (2001) in which he states that one of the major reasons behind the fact that the attempts of educational reform have not been successful is due to the relationships that exist between the teachers and the students and between the teachers and the communities that have not broken free from these coercive relations of power. It must be noted that in order for a positive change to be made in terms of the reconceptualisation of 'race' in South Africa, teachers need to change their role definitions in terms of the way in which they interact with the students in the classroom and in the communities that they serve.

By applying critical Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis to my data, I have been able to gain a deeper understanding of how these students, who form part of an integrated former Model C school, use language in order to describe social or political issues, problems or controversies that exist in their world. It has also allowed me to identify the different and contradictory voices and discourses that were used between the classroom and the focus group discourses. This showed how master narratives were picked up and reconstructed by the powerless groups in the school. My aim for this research project was not to make political points, but rather to highlight the need for social transformation in regards to the manner in which we conceptualise race. By using FPDA, it allowed me to highlight the master narratives on transformation produced by the students.

The students all had strong feelings about how race is integrated into the country's educational system and educational policies, with the primary focus being placed on how apartheid forms part of the curriculum and on the acceptance into a tertiary institute based on

race. The overall conclusion was that students believe that apartheid and race as an issue are being kept alive by the constant inclusion of apartheid into areas such as the language curriculum. The black and white students also feel that the inclusion of apartheid topics in the classroom contributes to the “awkward vibe” that is experienced between the black and the white students. They also believe that the insistent inclusion of the apartheid theme into the South African educational system is not only “shoving apartheid down their throats”, but it also seems to be contributing to the fact that the different racial groups are separating themselves from one another. This conclusion is drawn from the fact that the students on many occasions revealed to me that they did not notice race until it was taught to them in school or by their parents.

Another reason that was given to me for the exclusion of the students from one another is that there is a language divide. However, the language barrier was later reduced to this unknown barrier, referred to as the “vibe”, that exists between the black and the white students, and the coloured and the white students. In the discussions surrounding the “vibe”, the difference between classroom and focus group discourses can clearly be seen. It is here where the notion of different ‘voices’ is most clear. Students talked about many issues surrounding the “vibe” and the separation during break times in a contradictory manner. In the classroom interviews, the master narratives of ‘race’ had an influence on the individual narratives in the focus groups. This also indicates another important finding: that language stands proxy for race. This indicates that researchers need to investigate race from a linguistic perspective as it is possible that hidden racial opinions can be slipped in under the guise of race.

The black students revealed that are “afraid” of white people, and the white students stated that they have this feeling that black people feel “threatened” by them. The coloured students mentioned that they are “chilled” with the black students, and the black students shared this sentiment. The coloured students do, however, feel that the “vibe” between them and the white students stems from the fact that the white students are “afraid” of them, a feeling never shared by the white students. All these reasons are rather vague and do not provide a clear answer for the reason why the students use the excuse of the “vibe” to separate themselves from one another.

In my analysis, the fact that the students are separating themselves from one another is not due to reasons experienced between the students themselves, but due to the fact that their perceptions of the other race is largely influenced by external factors that exist in their macro-

and micro-environments. What can also be noted is that students are organising the social spaces that surround them in terms of race. This is very similar to the law enforced by the apartheid government yet, in this case, it is a choice made by the students. Once again, these findings suggest that the students are buying into the master narratives surrounding race in society and the students are shaping their behaviour in order to fit this.

Although not mentioned or indicated by any of the students, it is possible that, because I am white, the narratives of the learners could have been influenced. In both classroom interviews, there was at first a level of uneasiness in talking about the topic of race, which I believe can be attributed to the fact that race is viewed as a taboo topic. To my surprise, the group that I struggled with the most in terms of creating a natural flow of conversation, was with the white students in their focus group interview. McKinney (2011:7) states that the cornerstone of FPDA is that it is concerned with:

the ways in which knowledge, social relations and identities are constituted through discourse and is self-conscious of the fact that analysis always foregrounds the researcher's meanings and presents only one of multiple readings of the data.

It is for this reason that I state that my analysis only presents a few possible readings of the data. My methodology also does not allow for large-scale generalisations to be made on my conclusions. I chose to approach this research study as a case study in order to allow for a detailed examination of the topic at hand based on students' perceptions of race. I believe that my analysis of the discourse of inclusion and exclusion in terms of race has been equally portrayed amongst all races. I do not believe that anybody has the right to speak on behalf of anyone else, no matter their race. It is for this reason that I made sure to discuss and analyse topics that were brought forth by all races to ensure that I had the most accurate account of events or topics in order to allow for a fair analysis of the data.

Having said that, my research study has had a few shortcomings. Long-term classroom observations in which the teachers' actions towards the students could be monitored and analysed would have given me a more accurate depiction on what goes on in the classroom. I also feel it would have been beneficial to the study to conduct classroom interviews with an Afrikaans Grade 12 class as this would have allowed me to more accurately analyse the "vibe" that exists between the Afrikaans students and the English students.

The issue of “whiteness” also emerged during this research study. Due to the countless distinctions between white English people and white Afrikaans people by all the students, I gained a sense that they were struggling with the concept of the changing white identity after the end of the apartheid era. During this era, white Afrikaans people were seen as the oppressors, and these ideologies still seem to exist amongst the “born-free” generation. Consequently, this is causing the white English and white Afrikaans distinction, where the white English are the preferred group and the white Afrikaans becoming the group to avoid. The issue of white identity and how South African youth are struggling with this concept is an area in which I feel more research could be done.

My study revealed two primary areas for further investigation, the first of these areas being studies into the discourses of whiteness and the issue of white identity. There seems to be a divide, or rather a “vibe”, between the white Afrikaans and the white English students, and I believe that further linguistic research into the discourses of whiteness will allow us to gain a deeper understanding of this issue. Another area for further research would be that of how master narratives influence people’s behaviour. In this study, the students showed signs of adjusting their behaviour in order to conform to the master narratives that exist in their surrounding environment. A more focused discourse analysis focusing on this topic would be useful in understanding radicalised discourse in South Africa.

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Appendix A: WCED permission letter



Directorate: Research

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ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Ms Carla Roets
8 La Motte Road
La Rochelle
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7530

Dear Ms Carla Roets

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: RACIALISED DISCOURSE IN THE FORMER MODEL C SCHOOL: NARRATIVES OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from **17 April 2015 till 30 September 2015**
6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:
**The Director: Research Services
Western Cape Education Department
Private Bag X9114
CAPE TOWN
8000**

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard
Directorate: Research
DATE: 08 July 2015

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Appendix B: Ethical clearance from Stellenbosch



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Approval Notice Stipulated documents/requirements

04-Dec-2015

Roets, Carla CT

Proposal #: HS1193/2015

Title: Racialised discourse in the former Model C School: Narratives of inclusion and exclusion

Dear Miss Carla Roets,

Your Stipulated documents/requirements received on 21-Oct-2015, was reviewed and accepted.

Please note the following information about your approved research proposal:

Proposal Approval Period: 14-Aug-2015 - 13-Aug-2016

General comments:

Please take note of the general Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter.

If the research deviates significantly from the undertaking that was made in the original application for research ethics clearance to the REC and/or alters the risk/benefit profile of the study, the researcher must undertake to notify the REC of these changes.

Please remember to use your proposal number (HS1193/2015) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your research proposal.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

This committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research, established by the Declaration of Helsinki and the Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes 2015 (Department of Health). Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number REC-050411-032.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research.

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at 218009183.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator

Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

Appendix C: First Classroom Transcription

Carla: Okay so, I am going to start with just like a question again which is gonna just like, hopefully bring up a conversation. Uhm, okay. So let's see what should we start with today? Okay I want to get into this one. (Bell rings) Okay, what does that mean? Okay, alright. Okay. I want to know from you guys, and this is something that came up last year that I found extremely interesting. I want to know, how do you feel that your teachers, feel. (Door opens) No it's alright. How do you feel that the teachers in the school feel about you as a linguistically or culturally diverse person? Honestly how do you guys feel the teachers' reaction to you, or their attitude to you. Who's going to come up first and say something? Negative or positive.

Jolene: Do you mean like in terms of dialect or actual language?

Carla: As in, how do feel they just feel towards you as a student or as a group of students?

Jolene: If you are English in an Afrikaans class then it's kind of a pain because they have to translate, and vice versa, if you are Afrikaans in an English class. Because last time I said if there's a class of thirty and there's two, thirty Afrikaans children and two English...

Student: (Reminds Jolene to say her name)

Carla: Yes your name. Sorry I forgot again.

Jolene: Jolene.

Carla: Jolene. Alright. So what is the primary language do you would you say of the school?

Class: (Some say English some say Afrikaans)

Carla: Okay why do you say Afrikaans?

Michaela: Because there's a lot of Afrikaans learners and it is Afrikaans school, so...

Carla: And would...

(Somebody reminds to mention name again)

Carla: Is it, Sorry your name was?

Michaela: Michaela.

Carla: Michaela.

Michaela: I just feel like now they just you know, accommodating the English people.

Carla: Is it? And who said English? You said English. Okay. What's your name?

Ian: Ian.

Carla: Okay Ian. Why did you say English?

Ian: Most people are people are English speaking (inaudible)

Carla: Most people, students? And teachers?

Class: (Quickly respond) Afrikaans

Carla: Is it?

Michaela: That's why I said like like it's an Afrikaans school.

Carla: Okay so then how do you guys feel about Afrikaans teachers? Do you feel it is a problem for you?
(Student puts hand up) Yes?

Prudence: Prudence.

Carla: Prudence! Prudence.

Prudence: So I think it's a struggle because (inaudible) is mostly Afrikaans, so carrying over in English like most of them usually ask like what is this word in English.

Class: Yeah

Prudence: So like, they, I feel like they should know their English well to like be teaching English, but some of them like don't that why we sometimes struggle to understand what they are trying to bring across. So ja.

Carla: Mokay. Alright alright. Anybody else want to say something about the language? (Silence) Okay now this is gonna be a little bit more of a touchy subject but, do you feel that any of the teachers are, react negatively towards you because of your culture?

Class: (Mumbles)

Michaela: Uhm, Michaela. I think uhm, the teachers mostly have a problem with like uh with Xhosa speaking learners.

Carla: Is it?

Michaela: Because they mostly speak in their language and like the teachers don't understand at all what they are saying.

Carla: Is it?

Michaela: So I think they, I dunno, they feel, I dunno, offended almost most of the time.

Jolene: Because they're the minority. Because it's mostly English and Afrikaans, so if you get someone who is immediately different.

Carla: Do you guys have class with some of the Xhosa speaking, I mean can we say Xhosa speaking are African students?

Class: Ja.

Carla: Okay so, do you guys, are you guys with...

Class: (You can hear people say yes and then start laughing)

Carla: Why is there laughing?

Class: (Still laughing)

Carla: So do you guys have, now you said that they are in the minority so how do you feel, how do you guys interact with one another, is it a easy transition, very natural if they are in the minority, I mean I don't know if you guys, if any of them are your friends. Do you feel they also feel negatively, not towards you but, are, do you speak Xhosa?

Nomisa: Yes.

Carla: Perfect. What's your name?

Nomisa: Nomisa.

Carla: What is it?

Nomisa: Nomisa.

Carla: Nomisa. Okay, now fine so then you are the only one who speaks Xhosa in this class? How do YOU feel as a student in THIS school? I'm going to come closer.

Class: (Laughter)

Nomisa: I agree with what you're saying, uhm, 'bout the teachers kinda feeling offended. But it's like sometimes we get sick of speaking English all the time. It's like we also like want to speak our language and just like, it's more easier and the words are like flowing instead of now we have to think oops she's now sitting here okay we have to speak English. Because when, people think we sometimes gossip about them, and like, ah ah, don't come speak your language here.

Class: Talking amongst themselves.

Nomisa: But it's like, we are just having our own conversation, so, ja.

Carla: So how many, if I may ask, how many students, that you know, in grade 12 are Xhosa speaking...language. Are you Xhosa speaking? How many do you know... in the school?

Nomisa: In grade 12?

Carla: In grade 12.

Nomisa: (Long pause) 5

Carla: 5?

Class: Talking amongst selves

Carla: Do you all hang out together?

Class: Laugh

Nomisa: The others... I might say "Hi".

Carla: Is it? so, like, the others, haha sounds so bad. Are the others.

Class: Mumbles

Carla: So do they hang out on like separate at breaks, is it different, is it separate from other people?

Francois: The tuckshop there by the...

Unknown: The tuckshop

Francois: The Afrikaans white people are there.

Class: All speaking

Jolene: Right under, there's a door in the morning where the white people sit.

Class: Laughs

Carla: Okay...

Jolene: I walk in that door in the morning and I feel so awkward 'cause all the white people standing there and you have to walk through all of them, and I'm like "Naah" so I walk around.

Carla: Okay okay. Fine, but what's your name?

Francois: Francois

Carla: Francois. Now okay, again I'm sorry but you guys are white *chuckles*. Uhm now do you feel, at breaks, you can give me the breakdown now. At breaks do people really sit separately?

Francois: Yes.

Carla: So whites with whites, coloureds with coloureds and blacks and blacks?

Francois: Yes.

Carla: Indians and Indians?

Class: Mumbles laughing

Carla: Alright. SO how do you guys feel about that? Is it odd? Okay why, why do you think. Okay who can tell me why they think it happens. Name?

Emile: Emile. Uhm. It's just. They sit there and we smoke there.

Class: Laugh.

Emile: But ja.

Unknown: The cliques.

Carla: Okay yes.

Michaela: I think ...

Carla: Okay what's your name again? Jolene?

Michaela: Michaela.

Carla; Michaela. You're Jolene

Michaela: Uhm. Sorry, the white people, they speak mostly Afrikaans, they can't speak English. So basically we can't mix because we are more English speaking than they are Afrikaans speaking. And they don't sometimes understand or they can't speak English. And like you know like coloureds, we have our own, we've developed our own language. We have a way of speaking to each other and as well as the Africans they speak their language so I guess it's just the language thing that gets us like separated.

Carla: Mokay alright. What's your name?

Nicole: Nicole. It is technically the language thing because me as English white, I hang out by the coloured side 'cause as soon as I walk by the Afrikaans white people they look at me so strange and stuff, and I'm like really? I'm one of you guys. NEW TYPE OF ASSIMILATION.

Class: Laughing and a clap can be heard.

Nicole: It's real like, offensive. 'Cause just because I don't speak Afrikaans now they treat me like.

Carla: Like ostracise you. Okay listen now. Interesting question. Do, what do you think the, who do you think runs the school, from like in regards to the students?

Class: Some say white some say coloured.

Carla. Okay, okay why do you think, coloureds. What's your name again?

Nomisa: Nomisa.

Carla: Nomisa. Now why do you say the coloureds?

Nomisa: Because they, sorry guys, they are *voorbarig*.

Class: Bursts out laughing

Nomisa: They *hak uit*.

Carla: Okay now who says the white, who says the white students? OK Ian?

Ian: I think white because, because if you are coloured or you are black and you don't do your homework you will get points. If you are white you will never ever get points. You won't have to worry about detention.

Class: Laughing

Carla: Okay I didn't have detention ever so.

Class: Laughs.

Carla: Okay Francois?

Francois: The teachers do prefer white people. They favour the white.

Carla: So you guys feel that?

Class: Agrees.

Carla: Okay, alright, now. So you feel, what, so is it are, are most of the teachers white?

Class: Strongly agrees

Carla: Do you guys have any other coloured teachers? Sorry, your name?

Lisa: We don't have one black.

Carla: Don't you guys have one, one black teacher?

Class: Nooo.

Jolene: We have like how many coloured teachers?

Unknown: 3, 5, 4

Victoria: Victoria

Carla: Victoria. Oh, Thora

Thora: I because there's so many white teachers, they, that's the reason why they actually favour the white children. because they can relate to them.

Carla: Would you feel more, how can I say, comfortable, if there were more coloured teachers?

Thora: Ja.

Carla: Do you think it will make a difference towards, how you feel? So now you say the white, the teachers now favour the white students, do you feel that impacts you at all like academically, or do you just feel it impacts you like, in your attitude towards the classroom?

Thora: I think the attitude more.

Carla: Is it?

Thora: jaaa.

Class Jaaa

Thora: It's just annoying.

Carla: Can somebody give me an example? Okay wait let's start with...

Nicole: I went to XXX primary, so we basically grew up with like majority white teachers. So I wouldn't really ever distinguish whether or not they favour white people or coloured people.

Carla: So just neutral?

Nicole: Ja!

Carla: Okay yes, and you?

Chante: I don't think, I don't have a problem with white teachers. 'Cause I just feel like there's just something about their way of teaching that's it. Not that I'm saying the other coloured or black teachers are, you know, I don't know, they just have this sort of way of doing things like, in my primary school there

were also mostly white teachers, and it was an Afrikaans school. There's just something, I don't know that they, really contribute, I don't know there's something. But I know that I see teachers, like my consumer teacher. She would almost like speak about her Afrikaans class, and "Hulle is so mooi", she always does that. Like when she speaks to us she would be like, she'll be like, say for instance she mentions a shop, she'd be like, "Ja there's a shop there" and she'll be like, "Oh but you guys don't know about that shop".

Class: Laughing and agreement can be heard.

Chante: She will be like, "You know when you come to this class, you do fancy stuff" or she'll be like "I don't want to smell your food", stuff like that.

Jolene: You know. When we were doing a practical, we were supposed to make a chutney and she thought we wouldn't bring our own strawberries, so we made onion chutney. She's like, "I don't know if you guys will be able to get strawberries".

Class: Laughter

Chante: And like Afrikaans teacher, she's also very like, about her, her like, "Ek het nou my 10a1'e en" you know whatever. She always, she always does the "A" thing. And obviously we know the "A" class, is the white. (Class simultaneously says Afrikaans) so it's like okay.

Carla: Okay that's interesting. You always get a teacher like that in every school. Uuuuhm okay well, let's see what else, what else can we talk about.

Lisa: You know when you said that that, how the teachers.

Carla: Sorry what's your name again?

Lisa: Lisa

Carla: Lisa yes?

Lisa: How uhm, it was one of the earlier previous questions, uhm, you said that, that, just let me think. The teachers help 'cause it's a white teachers, the coloured class and how the way they speak and so on. I don't think it's like a problem, because, okay well sometimes, but they've been teaching for so long English classes, so I don't think, uh, they know how to speak.

Carla: Hmm.

Lisa: Well not like English, but most of my classes we don't have a problem with the teacher, you know teaching.

Carla: Hm. But do you feel, when talking now about the consumers, now that brings up like, for instance let's think about like, English or we are going back to the sort of literature. Do you guys, do teachers ever use pop culture references as in like, you know, like I was watching 7de Laan last night, or I watching this last night, or I was watching, I don't know. Do you feel like they use, how can I say like, wide-spread pop culture references, or is it does it stick to, like you know your older movies. Do you guys, when I say pop culture references now like music, and it's all like modern music, culturally appropriate music, references, all of that. How do you guys feel about all that?

Jolene: There's one teacher, our English teacher. She tries, but she fails miserably.

Carla: How does she try?

Jolene: Like this one day we walked in, do you remember seeing the Oscar selfie with all the...

Carla: Yes yes.

Jolene: She was taking a selfie of that selfie. And we were like, that's so weird. And she's like, I'm taking a selfie with the selfie. And we're like no.

Carla: No that doesn't work.

Chante: They kind of, they try to do it, but they almost do it in like offensive way. Like again our consumers teacher, she was talking about this like food program but it's an Afrikaans uhm, type of thing. And I was like man I've never heard of that. Then she said the name and like don't you know about that. And like whenever sometime we play music in the class then she will like say, "put off your taxi music".

Class: laughing and agreement can be heard.

Carla: "Put off your taxi music"?

Chante: And she doesn't care if she insults us. There's always like reference to her type her way of life, and she always makes the coloured people sweep the floor or close the windows. Or take out the bin, where Keenan. She always makes Keenan take out the bin.

Carla: Are there any other teachers that you feel, that give you that kind of like, bit off a different.

Unknown: Vibe.

Carla: Give you that kind of vibe.?S

Class: people audibly thinking

Unknown: Some teachers are okay like, they they don't have a problem with like I think the mixed race, but other teachers, oh no, I don't think they are too happy with us being around, like having to teach us.

Carla: Uh? So you still feel that way after...?

Unknown: I think it's the older teachers that feel that way.

Another Unknown: But wait... There's was like in maths, two black girls they were you know how they speak, they were going on and "ah (squeaky thing)" and they were and then teacher kept on looking at them like no, and then she looked at me like, but I saw her looking and she was like, no you don't act like. For me that was just like...

Carla: Was it just a vibe?

Another Unknown: No, it was just that you don't do that. You just let them be.

Danielle : You asked us if we would be more comfortable with like a coloured teacher, or like our culture, and basically...coloured teachers are scary.

Carla: Uh?

Danielle: I live with two coloured teachers (referring to her parents). It is like being at home when you have a coloured teacher.

Carla: Uh? So you would ...

Class: Mumbling.

Carla: Ja?

Ian: I just like ja, find it interesting, but white people don't actually know how to react to black people.

Carla: Uh?

Francois: It's kind of awkward 'cause they don't understand...

Carla: (Laughing). What did you say? I want to know what you...hopefully I will be able...

Nomisa: I feel awkward.

Carla: No but now, that's an interesting topic. Do you feel, you feel awkward now, do black people feel awkward with white people?

Nomisa: I do.

Class: Laughing.

Carla: Why? Cause you are the only one that can speak for all of the black people. Why do you feel awkward?

Nomisa: I don't like it.

Class: Laughing and talking amongst themselves.

Carla: Okay, but do you just feel that there's like this..

Nomisa: Like, I don't know...(inaudible)... in Mugg and Bean. Yesterday in class. Anyway, so like, we like go a lot to Somerset Mall, me and my mother. And then afterwards like we go like to Mugg and Bean, and like there are lots and lots of white people. Okay, so we walk in and there are like a lot of white people. And we are busy walking in and they're like...(makes gestures suggesting people staring).

Class: Laughing

Nomisa: But but, now like you feel so uncomfortable.

Carla: And, but like at school, do you also feel like, that you get like a negative kind of vibe?

Nomisa: A bit ja, a bit. Because like, for example Carmen would be like "Let's go there by the trees", and I know by the trees there are a lot of white people...

Class: Laughing.

Unknown: Then I am like, "Naaah, it's cool".

Carla: Okay, as the white person on the topic, why do you think you feel awkward?

Francois: I don't know, there is just a barrier there, there's a buff there, it still needs to be broken down, and...

Carla: Do you guys feel about both, how do you guys feel about coloureds?

Class: Some members of the class saying “They're chilled” followed by laughter.

Carla: Okay, ja, Ian.

Ian: I think that it's attitude, attitude like “Oh white people are like this, black people like this”, just like oh, people in general then you won't have like that, “Oh, I don't want to sit with white people, I don't wanna sit with black people.” Cause like why would you even want to think of colour skin?

Carla: Okay.

Michaela: Michaela, uhm I, we were born-free generation, so we shouldn't be so be sitting on this problem in the first place, but I think it's our parents that keep reminding us, like “Oh, back in the day, apartheid, we had to walk on this beach, we had to stay away from whites” and whites as well, like I think our parents have an influence on us, and so we, we like, we constantly reminded of you know..

Carla: Jolene, yes?

Jolene: I think, for me it's really, like me personally, a really weird situation, because, I'm coloured, but I don't speak like a coloured, so when I came to this school, people were so confused by me...because they were like wait, she's got straight hair, coloured skin and speaks like a white person. This is so weird! So like, people would always ask me, like what are you? Like a coloured? Indian? Like, what are you? So for me it's like a really strange situation, because I kind of, I can speak to like anyone, (mentions class members names), like whoever it is, because I don't really, I can't really sit in a type of group, because...Ja. Somewhere lost in translation.

Carla: Okay, now that is why I need to ask this question, what did I want to ask. I forgot...it was also something about, cause I teach first years at the University and I have three black children in the class and I also feel that, it's basically mostly white people, and I myself feel sometimes, when you brought up the language, for instance now they will speak their own language in the classroom and immediately I think, shit, did I do something wrong.

Class: Laughter

Carla: Like that is my first thought.

Nomisa: But, like I said, I feel uncomfortable with white people, but for example, if you were just two, I wouldn't feel uncomfortable, but if it would be like a lot...

Class: Laughter

Nomisa: Like, joh...because like in class we are chilled, we do speak but we won't be like touchy touchy, ja.
We are not that close.

Carla: But, like do you feel like it's your parents? Or do you feel that it actually comes from the environment that you are in? Not like here, but in like the whole school?

Unknown: I think it's the parents. But not my (inaudible).

Carla: It's older generation.

Unknown: It's like the family, the grandpa, the grandma. My mother didn't like, bring bring, brought me up like that. It's like, ja. My grandparents would be like, "ANC ANC", and I will be like "no". In the mall also, they were like. Black people then give me that "vuil", people call it "vuilkyk" to white people.

Carla: Ja, mmmkay, and with you, do you feel that it's parents?

Francois: I was brought up in a racist family...

Carla: Is it?

Francois: I was like the rebel. Uhhh, I learnt to accept people are different colours, I had to learn myself. So, I was brought, how can I say it, I was brought up in a family that's mostly hating black people and hating coloureds. I'm just...

Unknown: He is dating a coloured...

Carla: Yes?

Nicole: For example, my parents, uuuuhm, making racist comments. Basically when we go to the beach...

Carla: Sorry, Nicole?

Nicole: Yes, Nicole. When we go to the beach and see interracial couple, and my mother will be like "Ooooh, they just like the white girls now, they go for the white girls", like all the brothers (inaudible) she'll be like "They just want the white girls now." It's just love...so.

Jolene: Like my brother, is married to an Irish girl, white girl. So they are both white girls. So when they bring, the one brother 'cause he is quite dark of complexion, when he, when we brought them home the first time, like to South Africa, with the rest of our family, a lot of people would see them in the

mall, and like our family didn't care, we embraced it. But when they would go to the malls and stuff and they would see their kids, 'cause their kids, the one's a bit dark, and then there is one just fair child. So when they would see the whole family together, the looks that they get is ridiculous. Because the kids all have straight hair, but then they're father is like dark and so they would get like really, even today, they still get really weird looks. Because, ja.

Carla: Your name is?

Liam: Liam

Carla: Liam.

Liam: I think that it starts in the family, with the parents. My parents are just like a person is a person. And we, I everyone knows I like talking to people (inaudible), so like Francois, hi. (inaudible) we have been friends for so long. And, uuuhm, prefects, so then we go on prefect camps and I like, I just talk to him. I think it's like what's in you. If you're comfortable with you, because I, I'm comfortable with like almost everybody when I walk in the passages I like slap white people's hands and like, everybody just looks at me and I'm like white people. And geography, I sit by the Afrikaans people but I am English, and the English people look at me and I'm like, "Bra, I'm having a good time", if you're comfortable in the place that you are sitting, but I'm comfortable and if you think the whole teacher's story, as how the teachers are Afrikaans, if the teachers are, even this generation, go to the teachers, obviously the youth has a big impact because we more English than them, making English like a global language, so then people feel more comfortable because Ian, he just speaking English, so if Ian is a teacher and he speaks English, the coloured people will, "Oh, okay, he speaks English", he doesn't speak Xhosa to us, like how that consumers teacher, because he also speaks English and he speaks Afrikaans very good. So he will be a good teacher 'cause he can speak English and Afrikaans and he won't be favourite because he grew up in this society, so he knows what it feels like.

Carla: So do you feel that there is this, this generation, I mean, let's say from matric now and down, do you feel that we could hopefully be the solution to kind of stop all this crap that is going on?

Unknown: Without the influences of, ja, of like the older people or...

Carla: Nicole?

Nicole: Uuum, basically it just boils down to how much effort you are willing to put in. And if you are willing to learn another language, basically when I was going up I had a white best friend at school, and he would speak Afrikaans and I would be fine with that and growing up our classes were like

bilingual, so I think speak Afrikaans to us because we understand Afrikaans quite fine, so if you just like willing to compromise on languages, then everything will be fine.

Carla: Guys, thank you, this was really interesting.

END

Appendix D: Second Classroom Transcription

Carla: Okay guys, do you mind if I start? Oh, before, uuuhm, you guys, could you either say your name or any other name, just so that when I type this all out in the end that I know who said what, otherwise its just a mix of confusion, that's what happened in the first one as well. So, uuuhm. Im gonna ask you a few questions to get started off, but please, you guys have the apparent reputation for being talkative and opinionated, so I'm very eager to hear what you guys have to say. Okay, first question, do you feel that you have language difficulties in the classroom setting, when it comes to teachers, when it comes to school setting? Do you feel that you have any issues when it comes to language?

Class: Mumbles of yes and no can be faintly heard.

Carla: No? Yes? Who said yes? Can I, I'm gonna come closer, otherwise this thing never reaches. Okay, ha, don't be nervous, what's your name?

Qama: Qama.

Carla: Okay, you are going to have to spell that cause I have to type it.

Qama: Oh, Q-A-M-A.

Carla: Okay, perfect. Okay, who do you say you have language difficulties?

Qama: Uuuuum, Afrikaans...

Carla: Is it? What's your first language?

Qama: Xhosa.

Carla: And second language?

Qama: Zulu.

Carla: Okay, wow. Third language?

Qama: Sotho.

Class: (Laughter)

Carla: Fourth language?

Qama: Tswana

Carla: Oooh my word.

Qama: English, then Afrikaans.

Carla: ...Okay. Wow, Okay. So I can imagine you could have difficulties. So Afrikaans is an issue for you?

Qama: Yes.

Carla: Do you feel that, is it, who speaks Afrikaans mostly? Like, you have difficulties with?

Qama: Uuum, well sometimes in Business class, Afrikaans mostly.

Carla: Is it.

Qama: And then, Afrikaans.

Carla: Are most of the teachers in the school Afrikaans?

Class: Yes.

Carla: Is it. And then, okay so now, your, what you say your, what's your first language, Xhosa? So as a Xhosa first language, you what what languages...

Unknown: Xhosa.

Carla: Xhosa. And then what. Do you also, you said you were also agreeing with the fact that Afrikaans is an issue. What's your first language? Xhosa. So are you guys the only three Xhosa speaking first language?

Qama: Yes.

Carla: In the class?

Qama: Yes.

Carl: (softly says grade)

Carla: Do you, in the grade? What's your name?

Carl: Carl.

Carla: Carl, okay. Carl. No, it's just I don't know if you were here, where you here in the beginning when I was talking about what we are doing today?

Carl: No. But I got the briefing.

Carla: Basically we just having a chat. Okay, so then, like on the topic of languages, do you guys feel as Xhosa speaking learners a little bit alienated in the grade?

Qama: Mmmmm...mmmm. So, so. (looks towards the rest of the class)

Carla: They won't, they won't judge you. This has to be open.

Qama: Not really.

Carla: Not really. So you don't feel it's an issue when it comes to students?

Qama: No, the students are really cool.

Carla: Is it? Okay, and what, like what, how can I say, culture or group do you think is the majority in the school?

Class: Coloureds.

Carla: Coloureds. Alright, okay. And what language would you say is the most spoken in the school?

Class: English.

Carla: Hmm, very different to what they say. Hmmm. Interesting. Okay. No, so...is it, do you feel its English?

Carl: Its definitely, there are more English classes than Afrikaans classes.

Carla: Is it?

Class: (people can be heard agreeing)

Carl: In every single grade.

Carla: Okay but then, most the teachers you guys said is Afrikaans?

Class: Yes. (then talking amongst themselves)

Carla: Okay, what, I'm gonna come round to that way, cause I wanna know why it's a problem.

Class: (some students laughing)

Carla: Okay, what's your name?

Class: (speaking amongst selves)

Carla: Whatever, whatever you want.

Tamsin: Tamsin.

Carla: Okay, Tamsin. Why do you say it's a problem?

Tamsin: It's just...

Class: (inaudible chatter)

Carla: It doesn't matter.

Tamsin: It's just, I feel that if an Afrikaans teacher is giving you English first language, really, it's not...

Carl: But they literally studied to teach English.

Tamsin: I know, but still. But still...it's not the language that they grew up with, it's not, we grew up with English, you know, like with English. And then they want to come, they're Afrikaans. They can't teach us English. That's how I feel.

Carla: So do you have, actually the English that you have like, at school, do you have Afrikaans teachers teaching English?

Carl: But Tamsin, what you are saying is just like...

Tamsin: I'm talkin, you can't tell that she is, she is doing a good job, but I feel that it would be better if we had an English first language person, I think.

Carl: Tamsin, that's like saying like, a a person from the present can't teach History because they live in the present, so.

Class: (Laughter)

Tamsin: It's not the same.

Carla: But do you feel that, does anybody feel, it, it, it like negatively impacts their academics?

Class: No.

Carla: No. It's not as big of an issue?

Class: (someone heard saying no)

Carla: Okay no, being in a school, I can't say the name, but like this school, uuum, do you guys, feel, okay there's a lot of, I mean, there's a lot of different races, I mean, which race do you think actually...

Carl: Is predominant?

Carla: Is predominant.

Class: Coloureds.

Carla: Also the coloureds?

Class: Also the coloureds?

Carla: Who said, who said Indian?

Class: (laughing) Someone says – I'm the only one here.

Carla: Are you the only Indian in the class? What's your name?

Jamie: Jamie.

Carle: Jamie. Are there any other Indians in the grade? Are you the only other Indian that you know? In the, in the school.

Jamie: Yes.

Carla: That's, that's quite lonely.

Jamie: Nah, its fine.

Carla: Okay, the other class was telling me about the break situation...

Class: Students shouting out – Separated.

Carla: Okay, now, now what's your name? Why is....

Adrian: Adrian.

Carla: Adrian. Now why is, why is it separated?

Adrian: I don't know, the whites feel that scared scared of the coloureds that's why.

Class: (Laughter)

Adrian: They sit on the other side of the school. The coloureds are somewhere else.

Carla: Sorry, what's your name?

Chante: Chante.

Carla: Yes.

Chante: They like, where they get together is like the smoking area, there seems like there is no like race barrier there.

Carla: And I heard something that there's a certain door in the mornings that's, that's apparently, is kind of predominantly a white door...

Class: Sounding confused...

Carla: Okay, but then you say the coloureds and the whites sit separately.

Class: Yes.

Carla: And the black students?

Class: Yes. Students heard speaking and agreeing.

Qama: But we also sit with the coloureds, sometimes. So, ja its...

Carla: Why do you think it's, at break times, that everybody kind of goes their own ways?

Class: Pause and then start chattering.

Carla: Okay, okay. But Carl, why do you say cliques?

Carl: Uuum, it's because like a group of friends, they just don't like. Like okay. When you come here in grade 8, like the previous year's Matrics left. So now there's an open spot for you to sit, and when you sit there, it is really hard to find somewhere else to sit constantly all the time. And I think the reason why all the white kids are always in the shade is because the previous years matrics used to sit in the shade, so now the grade 11 white kids, they just move up into the shade when they are matric. So it's not really a thing of segregation, it's just a thing of there's an open space.

Chante: Uuum..

Carla: Sorry, what was your name again.

Chante: Chante.

Carla: Chante, ja.

Chante: (Inaudible) ...they wouldn't find it difficult to go make friends with that person. Whereas, uuum, you wouldn't make friends as easily with someone of a different race. Its, there's something...I don't know, most of the white children are Afrikaans, so they find there is a language barrier.

Carla: Okay. So you are gonna say, the language barrier. So are most white kids..

Class: Students fill in by saying – Afrikaans.

Carla: Afrikaans.

Chante: There's like probably a lot of white ones ja.

Carla: That are English?

Carl: Ja.

Carla: What's your name?

Erin: Erin.

Carla: Helen?

Erin: No Erin.

Erin: I think that, if you speak Afrikaans (inaudible) make friends with the English person. You won't be able to communicate with them. You have to find words and stuff like that and it's difficult for Afrikaans kids to make friends with English kids because...

Carla: So, is it, so would you say that it's most, what is, who... what race tends to kind of like keep to themselves, and not actually tr...

Class: White people. Many can be heard agreeing to this.

Carla: Is it the white people?

Chante: In the shade, they have what like other friends from like E5, but that's cause they party together, so.

Class: Students are chatting, 'gym' can be heard in the background.

Carla: Wait, what's your name?

Danalia: Danalia.

Carla: Huh?

Danalia: Danalia.

Carla: Danalia, Danalia. Okay sorry, I just. I need to add all the names. Okay but tell...

Carl: But the thing is, some of us, like my friends and like a few others friends, like, they're not here now. Like we actually, like, go to like, the white shade and then like to the white people because we kind of, like know them very well.

Chante: Uuum, I think it also matters like what class you in. Like in art, there's basically just white people and so I'm friends with like all of them, you see. But now, because it's English, we just end up staying together.

Carla: Is it.

Chante: Ja, but like I never used to hang out with them before I took art.

Carla: So it's kind of just when you just talk to them.

Chante: It's like where you find yourself.

Danalia: Ja, it depends where you are. And they never like not want to speak to you, or anything like that.

Carl: Ja, I think it's because like the reason we speak to them is because, like in the past, we kind of had like, a, a, a situation, where like we kind of at a common ground, like in grade 10 we used to take Biology together, the Afrikaans kids, so then we started like, speaking the Afrikaans kids of the grade. And, uuuhm, sometimes we still do. Ja.

Carla: Alright. Okay. And now, well, go back...do you guys have any issues let's say the current curriculum, let's say in English. The literature, the poems and all that...

Class: (Sounds of grunting and sighing are heard).

Carla: Okay, who's this?

Danalia: All the literature.

Carla: All the literature? Okay, lets, why, what, what poems do you guys do? General theme of the poems?

Class: (different answers can be heard: Life, England, Europe)

Danalia: That, or apartheid. Learning about apartheid.

Chante: All like our poems committed suicide. It's so annoying.

Class: (talking amongst selves)

Carla: Okay, but then do you, don't you enjoy, don't...

Danalia: I want to tell you something but ah...

Carla: Nobody hears this but me.

Carl: You can't.

Danalia: Not on the record.

Carla: Nobody else hears this but me.

Carl: Uh uh, you can't.

Carla: (Laughing) You can't say that and then not tell me... Okay, but why don't you guys like doing... who else, okay the apartheid poems, who likes them? Put up your hands.

Class: (Laughing and only one puts up their hand)

Carla: Okay, so you like them? Don't you like them? So I'm assuming, I, I'm assuming the... why don't you want to do the apartheid poems anymore?

Carl: It's because apartheid has been shoved down our throats for so long, SO SICK. Like, okay! White people, they done some bad stuff, like Germany is ashamed of the holocaust. Like why can't we be ashamed of apartheid? I'm pretty sure it's because black people have no shame...

Class: (Laughing)

Carla: Okay, but you were going to say something? What's your name, sorry?

Tamsin: Tamsin.

Carla: Tamsin.

Tamsin: We, we, we've literally been learning about apartheid since grade four. Every single time, and it's to the point, where it's like uuuugh. Just stop it now.

Carla: Do you guys... sorry.

Tamsin: We do have to, we learnt about it and we understand and we need to move on, I feel. Even though, it's just...

Danalia: The fact that they constantly speaking about it puts it actually in our minds..

Carl: Ja.

Danalia: Like I grew up not seeing race, it was when I actually came to school that I started seeing it because that's kind of the way that they... taught us.

Chante: Like, I went to a private school and we never did like South African history, so I didn't even know what apartheid was until I was like in grade 5. We have in to a South African school and it was, like, uuuhm, XXX, So I don't even know what's that's all about...

Carl: You can't say the name...

Carla: Its fine, I 'star' it out

Chante: Ja. Whatever. I didn't even know what apartheid was, and like, for me it was like, so what is this BEE and all that.

Carla: Okay, so now...

Carl: I think it's a lot of things. BEE is so unnecessary, like now the people that are getting jobs are like people that were born post apartheid ...

Class: (Agreement can be heard)

Danalia: Its unfair.

Carla: Is it. Okay, but now as black students, I'm, do you guys feel awkward when you do the apartheid...

Qama: Yes, very awkward. They look at you all the time.

Carla: Okay, I'm going to move over here.

Qama: There was a look my direction, like, so black people suffered, and like this happened and then everyone is like (makes a gesture of turning around). Why can't we just stop talking about it, it makes me very awkward, I think.

Carla: So do you like, students really, do they really turn around and look at you?

Sinazo: Yes they do.

Carla: What's your name again?

Sinazo: Sinazo.

Carla: Sinazo. In the history class?

Sinazo: Yes.

Carla: Is it, so, and and when you guys talk BEE? In Business? Do they, do people always...

Class: (Many students talking over one another – utterances like 'Sometimes' can be heard.

Carl: Sometimes I'm okay with apartheid when it comes into terms of like, University acceptance and stuff like that...

Class: (Laughter)

Carl: But otherwise like, okay great, the black person is getting advantages and stuff but I think, like it's kind of nearing like the unequal stage, so I think...because like white people are real minority now, so it's like...

Danalia: Look, a lot of, a lot of people of colour are still disadvantaged. But, it doesn't mean that the level of them getting into varsity must be lower. They can work just as hard.

Carl: And its kind, and its k of like BEE is shoving the country into the ground because now it's just accepting people based on race, what if the white person kind of like got the cure for HIV and AIDS, but now he can't study because he can't get in...

Danalia: I'm so scared to go to a black doctor because I know that , that could have been maybe he's properly, uuhm, properly educated, but I wouldn't know that. But, black BEE.

Qama: Like when your parents have nice cars and everything, they worked for it, everyone just goes uugh, BEE.

Class: (Laughing)

Carla: Okay, so as a collective whole do you guys just kind of feel like, that, this whole, the state of the country at the moment, in terms of education, do you guys all feel...

Chante: Disgusting...

Carl: It's awful....Appalling...disgusting. What other words (inaudible)

Carla: Okay, so then, are there, are there, are there white, are there white students in the class?

Class: (Lots of chattering and you can hear 'no')

Carla: (Awkwardly) Are, a- a are you not white?

Class: (Different responses: 'she is' , 'she's not white')

Carla: Are you white by birth but you don't want to associate with whites?

Class: (Again, different responses: 'ja', 'no', 'but she's coloured', 'coloured').

Carla: Okay, so then when you do the apartheid things in the class, do you think the white students also feel like, uuuugh.

Class: (inaudible – students are all speaking together)

Chante: Like on a Maths Olympiad paper they want your race, they called me back to put my race there.

Carl: I always put the incorrect race.

Carla: (Laugh) Okay, but do you guys feel that the white students are sometimes, like, I mean I'm white, so I can say that sometimes I feel a little bit nervous...

Unknown: Don't care..

Carla: Do you feel the white students don't care?

Danalia: Not in this school, this school is white school.

Chante: Mam, even though we the majority it doesn't matter.

Carl: It's a white school.

Carla: Why, why do you say it's a white school...

Danalia: It's a Afrikaans school. It is..the teachers.

Chante: We sat on a bench once, and so this one huuuge white guy cam and he looked at us like, 'uuuh, maar julle sit hier?', and so we just like moved.

Class: (Laughing and 'why?' can be heard)

Danalia: No, there's a small, it's a minority of them...

Carla: Sorry, what's your name again, I just want to get it cause I just need to..., Hay..

Danalia: Danalia!

Carla: Danalia, Danalia...okay.

Danalia: You put me off now, don't know what I wanted to say.

Class: (Laughing).

Danalia: Ja, it's a small minority of people that are actually, like like, they are here. The people who are like 'Boer'...

Class: (Laughter and chatting)

Carla: So you feel that that actually still overpowers the majority? So the old culture of the school...

Danalia and Carl: Yes. Yes it definitely...

Carla: Overpowers...

Danalia: Yes definitely..

Carla: The actual what's happening in the school?

Danalia: Even though we are the the, majority in the school, like it this case it really doesn't... at all.

Carl: Because, uuhm, some signs of like the...old culture of the school is like, we have this Christian thing called the CSV, like there is no English translation its always like CSV. And something else, like Crisp, I don't even know what it is. But then again, Our counsel is also called the RVL which means 'raad van leerders', like we don't translate...

Class: Talking amongst themselves...

Danalia: Its small things but ja...

Chante: Like whenever we have our assembly, the teacher that gives the sermon is always in Afrikaans.

Carla: Don't lie, Ms XXX sermon is literally in English on Monday

Unknown: Its mostly...

Danalia: And if we have like pastors coming from outside its always in Afrikaans...

Carl: Ja.

Carla: so then do you think it is more from the school itself?

Danalia: The school is doing it, definitely the school.

Carl: Okay, here is one thing that happened recently, that just, about the school. The drama kids, we like had a problem with our Drama teacher, so we had a new teacher. But then the new teacher was from another school and we had to go there. But that school was Afrikaans and everything was taught in Afrikaans, and we couldn't understand, so we had to change. So the subject advisor came and said, 'Oh, I'm sorry for sending you to an Afrikaans teacher, it's just like, because my communication in the school was like Afrikaans, I just assumed that the school was Afrikaans. So I gave you an Afrikaans teacher.

Carla: boohoo...

Danalia: Wasting our time once again.

Carl: the thing is in Drama there are only three Afrikaans kids.

Carla: So I mean, how big is the class?

Danalia: 8, 9...

Class: (Laughter)

Carla: well still, it's the minority...

Class and Me: All talking about things that can't really be made out clearly.

Carla: Okay, but then, okay back to, I want to know how you guys, cause in that class there where two white students, and they obviously gave me an opinion, but like I could see that it was a little bit awkward, how do you guys feel about the white students?

Class: Hesitation, then some say they are chilled.

Danalia: Like, I think like Art made us better with like white people.

Carla: Who takes Geography here? They were mentioning something about a Geography class and why I should go and sit in and watch...

Chante: Ms XXX, she's hilarious.

Sinazo: I think there's white people there, it's a very mixed class.

Carl: Its bilingual, it is a bilingual class.

Carla: Okay, and which race do you think is moist chilled when it comes to...

Class: Coloureds..(talking amongst themselves)

Unknown: The coloureds and the blacks.

Carl: Like we don't mind, were like Ooooh, we party...but then the white people like, when there is someone, that is like not their race they are just like, they act like t is okay but you can see they're like...

Class: Again, interrupt and many people speaking at once.

Carl: When you see like, the white people, some white people drunk, especially the males, you can really see the like, their old, like their old South African culture...

Class: People heard agreeing with his statement

Carla: Okay, tell...

Sinazo: I don't want to talk about it..

Carla: Was it bad?

Carl: It was so senseless...

Carla: Did somebody get hurt?

Danalia: Explain..

Carl: Okay, we were at like this social gathering of young teens with some illegal substances...

Class: Laughter...

Carl: I'm joking, but like uuum, there was some other white kids, I was sitting with my friends, and like this white kid...

Danalia: It was a kuier, so you can imagine...

Carl: So like this white kid is like Boohoo, and like stuff. And then he like started throwing stones...and then my friend threw stones back at him, then (in a mocking Afrikaans accent) he was like " Hey, why you

throwing me wif stones". And he was like obviously throwing her with stones, and like he just made this whole fuss about it, I think because he felt he was more powerful than her, so he would be believed more. And then like she basically got like the, my friend is black, like she basically like got the, the worse side, like could you stop throwing stones, like I'm not throwing stones guys. "Like stop talking"

Carla: So it's just like...

Carl: Stupidity of the white man...

Sinazo: Just because Madiba did this, we can't do this...like blah blah blah, that stuff. And I was like OMW..

Carla: Unnecessary...

Sinazo: Very unnecessary.

Carla: Is it.

Sinazo: And I was like ok, and then he kept going on and on and on and on about it so then I said just stop, I'm sorry for throwing you with stones, and he carried on like ja, "You hit ..."

Carla: So you apologized even though he started first?

Sinazo: yes.

Carla: Yoh, it's so sad. So you guys are still getting that at your, okay, why do you think there is this sort of...

Danalia: Parents!

Carla: Okay, do you feel it comes from parents?

Danalia; They raise their children like that.

Carl: Ja.

Carla: Okay, in a general consensus, I'm not asking you to bad mouth or like anything your parents, but just a general Yay or Nay, do you. your parents influence your racial...

Unknown: Negative

Class: Nooooooo....

Danalia: I think at first they did..

Carla: Who said yes? I wanna hear from somebody who said yes now, but why do you guys say no?

Danalia: the older you get, you kinda figure out your own stuff, we were actually speaking about that in bio the other day, uuuhm, so, maybe at the beginning, I guess family, if I ever had to date a white guy, my family would be like "Oh, so we not good enough?", like a more gam family would be like that. So uuuuuh, ja. My parents didn't raise me to be like racist. And my parents are so mixed really. My dad is like this colour, and my mum is like your colour.

Carla: and then, and then black students and the black families?

Carl: My mother, she doesn't really have a problem with white people, until it comes to a white person doing something to her, like I remember the one time like in Mugg and Bean...

Carla: so strange, they also told me a Mugg and Bean story about white people, but in any case, carry on...

Class: Laughter

Carl: we were at Mugg and Bean and then like, I was kind of hungry and I was like "Mum, can I have some food at Mugg and Bean", you know and she was like "Ug, fine Carl lets go". And then we went into the Mugg and Bean and then like in the window, like my mother is so cheap she looked at the specials and there is a special on red velvet cupcakes. And then my mother was like "Oh, how much is this" , she asked this one person behind the counter, like, "How much is this?", and the person was like, "Oh, I'm not sure, it was marked down, let me go ask the manager". And like the manager came and she was speaking to the employee and then she came and changed like today's specials to like, red velvet cupcakes to show that it was like normal price. And my mother was like " Wait, no, why did you change that? I came here when it was like still the special" and then ja, at the end of it all my mother still needed to borrow 50 c from me because we couldn't pay.

Carla: but who says, who says their parents have an influence? Anybody in this class?

Danalia: I think its more white people...

Chante: I think its white parents that influence...

Carl: I don't know what white people are so scared of really...

Chante: You know, my mother's best friend is an African woman, and they had two white people, American people, not like white South African people. So the thing is, maybe its most in South Africa, like only these white people, but other white people, they are super nice.

Carla: Is it? Other white people?

Chante: Jaaa...

Carla: sorry, I just want to see, has this form been going around? Oh, this is another form, fantastic. Who didn't sign it yet? Ag, just carry on, whoever..on the next page ja, I forgot to make another page. Okay...uum..

Danalia: wait....I wanna..

Carla: Yes?

Danalia: I wanna say something, uuuhmm, this school is mixed of two groups mainly. Its AAA and BBB. Now obviously AAA white people are like not actually racist at all, and the BBB ones are actually more racist.

Carla: Is BBB, what type of school is BBB?

Class: Its Afrikaans.

Danalia: So, although, most of our white people that's here comes from there.

Chante: The coloured ones as well from there...

Carla: and the area, surrounding the school...

Chante: Predominantly Afrikaans.

Carla: Predominantly Afrikaans. And race wise?

Class: Some people can be heard saying white.

Carla: So its white Afrikaans?

Class: Some say yes, lots say no)

Danalia: XXX has become so coulured.

Carla: Let's say a 5km radius.

Carl: White!!

Carla: white. Okay.

Class: talking amongst themselves.

Carla: Do you feel like that, uuuum, affects the school?

Class: Silence.

Carla: like the school, the cultural vibes...

Carl: there a lot of things that the school doesn't do, based, because of the area. Like we don't have soccer because, it's not really like a white sport. So like..

Danalia: even though we are the majority and half our boys want to play like, it's so unfair...

Carl: Like we have all these like white sports, like netball, there's squash...who plays squash? There are three people. There's hockey, rugby, cricket...

Danalia: Rugby is such a waste.

Unknown: Like literally, our boys, like every single break they play soccer, they want to play soccer.

Carla: Your name is?

Erin: Erin.

Erin: CCC, offers soccer, but it's a predominantly coloured school...but they still offer soccer for their students. And we are also like, majority coloured and I don't see why they can't do it..

Carla: mmm, offer.

Carl: Like I'm pretty sure they will give us like band materials before they like give us soccer...

Carla: But if you went to the school with, how many, have you gone?

Danalia: Oh, we have complained for the last like 10 thousand years.

Erin: And the thing is, our boys have to go to their own soccer clubs..

Danalia: And the reason that we don't have soccer is that we don't have schools to play against, that was the reason they gave.

Erin: We did speak to, that man, and he said there are not enough students that want to play soccer..

Carl: And that's a lie, we literally have..

Class: Talking amongst themselves.

Unknown: We don't have enough coaches in our school to coach soccer, that's why we have to get outside...

Class: Students are talking and the bell rings.

Appendix E: Black students focus group interview

Carla: Let's start, I'm gonna put this down here, uhmm, ok let's start with, huh I should have maybe marked the question I was gonna start with first, I think I write it down here... ok let's start with this one. Do you feel influenced in any way by the mainstream culture in the classroom, so firstly what do you say what the mainstream culture is (coloured) coloured? Ok, so you think it's mostly (coloured) coloured, and then do you feel that they are intimidating, or do you feel influenced by them at all?

Girl: no

Carl: no, not at all

Girl: they, they very cool

Carla: Is it? (ya) Are there any cultures in the school that you do feel a little bit...

Carl: its only the white people

Carla: isit it only the white kids

Carl: ya, but not like all of them, it's just, I mean like there only a select few

Carla: But like now when you say a selected few is there like a specific group in the school that you would avoid?

Carl: ya, like last week when you told me about the kids in the shade like the kids that like sit on the bench in the shade they are like the white jocks they like body build every single day and like they never eat anything they only drink protein shakes and like they never share their food with (inaudible) like I stay away from them, like they so uninteresting and like uhmm and if you don't body build you literally have nothing else to talk to, (Is it?) talk about to with them. But there are other kids in the shade which are my friends and they actually really fun people like they'll laugh with you and like they make good jokes and, they really not that bad (Is it? And you-)

Sinazo: I haven't really, I don't have white friends...

Carl: I'm the closest white friend she has (Is it?)

Girl: ya

Carla: so you don't have any white friend, is that now, due to?, why would you say it is?

Sinazo: because like I I, I feel uncomfortable after what happened at uhmm that party (mmm), I don't, cuz it was my first time going to a party with white people and that happened so I just thought to myself ok I'm gonna distance myself from them and anything because I'm just scared (it'll happen again) ya,

Carla: and now what happens for instance in a classroom thing if, let's say in the class you now have a project with a white person, or say you have an oral with a white person or if you have all of those, do you feel like it's odd then because of your experience at that party?

Sinazo: no, but I've never. That will never happen.

Carla: that's never happened, so when there's like group projects do you?

Sinazo: we don't have white people in our class it's like a English (like in your business class, you might-) ya, oh my word I'm with the guy that actually threw stones in my business class (Is it?) ya

Carla: ooh that's not fun

Sinazo: It's not at all and I don't even look at him like (inaudible) and

Carla: has he ever apologised for that? (never) so he's never really faced you after that? (nope never). Morning, morning Lali, thank you very much for joining us, uhmm, I'm just asking a few questions about uhmm, basically your experience as a Xhosa speaking as a black learner in a school that is predominantly coloured, but also we just on the topic of white people (laughing). SO Lali tell me do you have any white friends?

Lali: yes, I kinda have a lot.

Carla: Is it? So you, you've never had an experience within the school or with any white students that have maybe felt, made you feel uncomfortable?

Lali: uhmm, there have been some times but, further on no, not really.

Carla: Is it? And then with uhmm, the question I was asking, do you feel at l- at all, what do you think is the mainstream culture in this school?

Lali: uhmm, I would say the majority of them are coloureds (isit, ya) but then again it's also white people, because if you can see that there's more white people coming into schools now so all the classes are bec- the Afrikaans classes are becoming a bit more and more

Carla: Is it? And now on the topic of Afrikaans, how do we all feel about Afrikaans?

Sinazo: they quite good at it cuz she went to an Afrikaans school

Lali: oh ya

Carla: Ooh alright

Lali: so you can basically say I grew up Afrikaans, (mmm) so I feel that, I like Afrikaans, but then there will be times that like ok no this is too much for me, I cannot do it

Carla: Is it? And with you

Girl: I suck (suck at Afrikaans) suck like badly

Carla: and then in the classroom though do you have that T option, where they speak Afrikaans and English or is it an Afrikaans class and an English class?

Together: Afrikaans

Carla: is that so? (ya, yes), ok that helps

Carl: the thing is, like in the language classes they try to like uhmm make you learn by listening (mmm) so they only speak that language in the language class like if we had a French class, the teacher would only speak French.

Carla: So you guys, it not like in business you have a English and Afrikaans lesson? (we do) Oh so it's English and Afrikaans, ok so it's only your admin class that are split (ya, yes) Now do you feel now, with the teachers the whole T option

Carl: what's the T option

Carla: that's when basically with the fact that uhhh T option is when you speak half Afrikaans, half Afrikaans half English. (oh) Is it actually like that in the classes?

Carl: Well I think teachers try their best, becuz like cuz actually you can't keep track now, like ok 50% is Afrikaans (ya), speak English for the rest of the lesson, but sometimes it does happen where the teacher speaks more English than Afrikaans and more Afrikaans than English, like when I had Biology in grade 10 it was a split medium class (mmm) and then uhhh, the teacher, she's Afrikaans so like basically, it was like it was her tendency just to speak more Afrikaans like she wouldn't even notice (ya) she is Afrikaans (ya)

Sinazo: and my business class, he speaks mostly Afrikaans

Carla: Is it? And do you- an does- do you ever put up your hand and say listen I don't understand or

Sinazo: ya, but then he just moves on

Carla: Is it? so he won't say ok I'll repeat this in English, is he an Afrikaans teacher? (ya, ya). DO any of you take consumers? Because I've hear about a consumer's teacher in the school that is quite...

Girl: I think I know-

Carl: is it miss uhhh (yea) oh oh..

Girl: no and the other one and the other one (oh) yes, (yea I've heard)

Carl: the one that left

Lali: oh I have no idea

Girl: oh and there was this other short teacher, she's still here

Carl:(gasp) Mrs XXX (laughing)

Carla: what about her?

Carl: oooh that teacher gave us a whole lot of nonsense while she was in school, it was awful (why, what ok)

Sinazo: there was this other time uhmm (inaudible) this other time we, we were like chilling with my friends at break and everything, so no it wasn't break it was like we, we were gonna go to her class next period, so just chilling and chatting and obviously we Xhosa speaking people so we gonna speak Xhosa anything, so she's like this is a English and Afrikaans school, it's either you speak Afrikaans or English but not this black language. That's exactly what she said.

Lali: she does have a tendency when you speak another language other than English or Afrikaans, she will tell you straightforward, listen you speak English or Afrikaans not other other languages, (but that day she said black, black language)

Carla: and is she and older teacher?

Carl: she's extremely old (ooh ok) thank goodness she retired, I don't think I'd like to have another year with her.

Carla: and are there any other teachers that make you feel that, a little bit that you just get that vibe (girl: oh yes) (Carlo well) if I can, that, the vibe is the only way to actually properly explain it, cuz there's' no way to actually prop- I don't know I always just get a vibe

Carl: there's another teacher, well she's not old she's just young and really less intelligent, because like the things she says like, ok, there's this whole (inaudible), ya.

Carla: I love how you know who (inaudible) (oh)

Carl: uhmm, a few weeks ago actually not even like in last year uhmm we were in art class and (mmm) and then she was, uh we were speaking about apartheid, and then she was talking about like how she doesn't like to teach it becuz like the kids don't understand like and she was telling all these things like "uhmm I don't feel anything for Nelson Mandela because like people say the white people were killing and shooting people but Mandela and what, they were bombing people and stuff like that and" and she's like and Nelson Mandela didn't free the country, FW de Klerk did like uh he said ok here's the country, Nelson you take it and, I was just like

Sinazo: and she was like he didn't go to jail for 27 years, he went to jail for three days (days) and then he, it wasn't that bad for black people, like seriously people (ya) exaggerate and bla bla bla

Carl: ya, and she was like, also told us that like black people uhmmm they were allowed to vote during apartheid, they just had to pay (they just had to pay) and the white people didn't have to pay, and I was just like can she-

Lali: I don't think she knew what, she knew her history.

Carl: ya and she was like telling us that we don't need to know what apartheid is, but I feel that her knowledge (I can't believe what you are telling me right now) her knowledge is the one that was forced in to her when she was in school, (ya) when the white people had to look good

Carla: but do you argue, now in your art class, do you have white kids in the class ?

Carl: ya, we were arguing with her but like it's so futile to argue with her because like (clap clap clap) it, won't, go, through, ever.

Carla: but then, is it now awkward, do the white kids also, are they also like woa.

Carl: the white kids, in the art class, especially in the art class the white kids are, those are the shade kids (mm shade kids), they are really like open, they, they are my best friends actually like Gina and Laurence and who else ok, Suné and Nicola (inaudible) they pretty much just go with ever tuff (thing) the teacher says becuz like I dunno they want good marks (ya) art is objective and things like that so if the teacher hates you she's gonna hate your art work

Carla: that is true

Carl: but uhmm ya it's like so shocking cuz like she's actually teaching people and now she's (and that's what she's teaching the,) this

Carla: uhh, but now do you think that becuz your prefect that helped you to kinda build relationships with anyone? (no), no.

Carl: a prefect, that basically just shows that you have build relationships with everyone because uhmm you have to be elected (ya) vote for you (oh ok), so I basically like, just, I think it was

mostly my Bilingual classes like art which I use to have and my dramatic arts and my biology and music that helped me, mix with the other kids otherwise I wouldn't like have had all these relationships

Carla: mm ok, and then just quick questions, like again now when it comes to like, we touched them the other day but, like literature in classes and the stuff the poems that you guys do, do you feel, firstly, the first question is that you guys do appropriate literature, as in we talking now the Shakespeare's the Animal Farms the How to kill a mocking birds or how, I don't know what literature you guys, you guys think it's relevant?

Carl: I think the most relevant literature we've ever done is Animal farm (yea) cuz like it was about the (inaudible) and things like that otherwise Shakespeare and William Winsworth and thing...

Carla: would you guys prefer, now when I say, more culturally appropriate, there are a lot of cultures in the school so I mean do you feel that if the teachers went to go and do research into the different cultures, a basic questionnaire, go find out what you guys are in to, what music you in to, what music other students are in to and kinda try to choose poems or literature that's more (relevant) relevant, do you think it would increase your marks (yes) (it would, it would a lot)

Carl: I remember in grade 9, 8, we had this book called Apeman (mmm) and its (that's grade 10) grade 10? Oh ok wow, time flies. Uhmm it was this book about like this school called hell, (heldekloof) Heldekloof high, it's not a real school it's in Somerset Wes (mm) and uhmm like it deals with like a high-school and like there was like a murder and like there was drugs and then teachers, were racism and everything was just so, and I loved that book so much, not everyone else liked it as much but I loved the book-

Carla: but do you feel like your marks actually went up?

Carl: yes, cuz I actually listened (ya)

Carla: So that does make a diff, a big difference (ya) so do teachers ever make, sort of when I pop culture reference do they ever reference things in class like series or like (yes) what do they, but when they reference, is it references that everybody in the class can relate to (uh, sort of) (Sometimes)

Carl: not, sometimes not, like I can actually make an example, yesterday we were reading a poem in English and then my teacher, it was about something about (inaudible) oh it was when I have this by John Keats, and then about gleaming and that means weeping to the last (mm) and then she mentioned the Bible because like she's Christian and (ya), like you remember in the Bible when uhmm Ruth and then oh ja, and then everyone actually knew what she was talking about (and then) ya so, it made sense then that (that that connection ya)

Carla: and you? You said not really...

Girl: oh no cuz, well in a lot of my uh, how can I say, my literature classes, uhmm in Afrikaans especially, she is kind of an old lady, so she does not know what we are in to (mmm) she just, she's straightforward basically, if she says this and this then you had to understand, and she doesn't like give a reference to it like like something similar (mmm) she will just, she will explain deeper into the say now specific topic but she won't explain it in another way so that we can understand (uuh) which leads to us basically clueless sometimes (ya), so so like if there were to do like for instance anything, people would, our class would understand (ya)

Carla: cuz I always got in my class, teachers that always used to reference 7de Laan, so I felt like if you didn't watch 7de Laan, then you wouldn't understand it. They'll be like last night like last night what happened in 7de Laan, and I'll be like I didn't watch didn't watch last night, don't know about you guys (laughing) and, (then something happens). Good morning! (someone walking in) no no its alright, its alright. ok uhmm, ok again we just having a chat, can you maybe tell me about any.. are you also wearing that Britney Spears? (yea) haa it smells nice ey (ya) you can smell it immediately ya, uhmm I was asking now if you maybe have any examples of any times that you felt a bit threatened or a bit like, you felt this type of vibe from a teacher or from a student in this school...

New girl: mmm, oja Miss XXX, thanks Carl:, it was in grade t- eleven, ya eleven and uhmm, ok I was wearing the wrong uniform obviously but then the way she approached me wasn't professional as uh (mm) (inaudible) and I was wearing this wrong scarf and stuff and I then I was so mad that I threw the scarf at her, and then she gave me points for throwing scarf's at her and all that and I mean, in the merits slip there's no uhmm, you can't give a learner, ok there's no instruction of giving a learner demerits cuz she wearing or throwing a scarf or whatever (ya), and then since that day, I had a beef with her something like that, we didn't

get along and stuff, and even till today I don't speak to her, I don't greet her, I don't look at her, just look different ways and whatever

Carla: Does she teach you?

New girl: no she doesn't, that's a good thing actually, because I'll give her attitude every time in class, and then ya that's about it and the student, the student I don't think so no,

Carla: so do you guys feel I mean cuz its' actually quite nice to hear becuz do you guys ever so you guys feel becuz I mean this school is actually super, there's pretty much like like you know one of everything in this school, do you guys feel that that makes it a little bit easier for everyone to get along with everyone (oh yes) (what) like because you got so many cultures, if you were in a predominantly white school do you think your lives will be a bit different (mm yes) (yes) Is it?

Carl: no, it depends on what kind of white people, there is Afrikaans white (yes) yes, if it is English white then I would be totally fine

Carla: Ok, now I've got this, this I find this very interesting, cuz I mean I I listen- the distinction that and I pick this up that you guys make between Afrikaans white and English white (oh) (haha) is there a big difference?

Carl:(yes) huge difference, world of difference, you have no idea

Girl: especially in their speech (yes) yes, uhhh if a Afrikaans white tries to speak English you can hear it immediately (mm) and then if the- if it's vice-versa you can also hear it (mmm) so ya that's how bas- some some of us tell the difference

Carla: So, but now in a Afrikaans white school... will that be like your worst nightmare?

Group: Yes, yes (gasp) oh my goodness

Carl: A few weeks ago when uhhh, I ri- my drama class, we had to take drama at tut beep beep beep as well (laughing) uhh it was so awkward because like it was basically like what XXX was three hundred thousand years ago, like even the uniform was still green and everything, but it was so Afrikaans it was unbelievable we like just stood there and we were like all shocked, even the Afrikaans girls from our school, were like oh my gosh and like I don't

know what I'd do if I was here, and it was so funny becuz like uhmm my friend made this joke like "wow guys if we went to this green school like we would all be playing sports and
Carl: wouldn't have come out of the closet (laughing)

Carla: funny funny, ok but now you said no you wouldn't feel that way?

Girl: no (cuz she) cuz I can (cuz you've been) ya, I've been in an Afrikaans class so it will be easier to rate, obviously it will- ok no sorry, it won't be easy because then uhmm, like you said like they very Afrikaans white (mmm) so they wouldn't like really trust me so it will be hard to build that relationship (mmm) with them and but then in in time due time they will like eventually get used to me speaking Afrikaans but then again there will always be that thing where they like uh she's black and she speaks Afrikaans, it's very funny and like unusual, so that's my only problem

Carla: ya, so do you think that you know the Afrikaans white distinction, now does that sort of how can I say, vibe for them come from?, where do you think it stems from? (their parents) their parents, so their parents and your parents? Do you feel-

Lali: (no, no) no my parents are totally cool, like my mom said, uh if you bring a white boy home ooh (laughing) especially that my mom, I will never forget the day she told me, I told her that I want to get married someday, then she's like yes you gonna bring a white guy home, and I'm like excuse me mom not in this day, but that one sentence she told me it stuck in brain for a long time (Is it?) and up until now she still tells me you should bring a white guy home, that's why I told her I really, I'm not fond of getting married anymore (laughing) (inaudible)

Carl:(is that stupid?) ya that's stupid (inaudible)

Carla: uhmm, but then uhmm what I wana say now, about, so you think then the vibes then from the Afrikaans white people, do you feel that you have the vibe from them, it's not a vibe from your side? (ya)

Carl: ya, because I'm so open, so open (ya) like like

Sinazo: relate like this (inaudible) people

Carla: well that, so you guys hang out in breaks

Girl 2: uhmm they do (mmm) but I, where am I, I associate with the other black people (Is it?)

Carla: so that's it, so that really is a thing, because I think Francois from 12E... ya 12E4 he was explaining to me that at breaks it literally is, I mean he broke it down (ya)

Sinazo: There is like literally a group of, my group sometimes I don't chill with her, but she chills with like a coloured girlfriend and friends and then I chill with my like, there's like literally a group like by (behind the tuckshop) behind the tuckshop ya, there's like a group of black kids and then there's ya, and then there's like the coloured people are this side, this side of the world (yea) and then there's like white people in the shade (on the other side of the world) (in the shade)

Carla: so then but don't you guys find that weird like you mix during breaks you might mix after school but I mean you mix during school times but but at breaks everybody still goes to (ya)

Sinazo: it's just like it's in our heads now, it's like our mentality like ok white side (it's like) I don't know

Carla: DO you think it's a racial divide or a language divide?

Girl 1: it can be both of those, it can be (Is it?)

Carla: but why why would you say both

Carl: because uhmm some of the white kids that are English don't go to the white shade, they stay with the coloured kids because they speak English and not Afrikaans (yes)

Carla: So the white people ten- the white English people sorry, I have never had to make that distinction before, (laughing) the white English people they prefer they will then sometimes just chill with the coloureds (yes) and the coloureds? They just kind of like

Girl 2: they mingle everywhere (mumbling)

Girl 3: just mingle everywhere, like black and coloured not under whites ideal (ya) but if we had friends that like, if I I wouldn't mind having a white friend but (mmm) I'm just (you not that) I'm not comfortable (ya) (Is it?) like it's like that vibe and sometimes

Carla: cuz there's that vibe you don't know how to really explain it do you- cuz –I

Carl: she wouldn't have white Afrikaans friends, (ya) (yes) (White English) white English, I don't why people, white English people are just so much more open, because I remember like I use to like- last year on New Years I had a party and my friend she stays in Con-, my friend *he* stays in Constantia, oh I'm thinking about the wrong new years, sorry, (laughing) he stays in Constantia and like uhmmm we were in Town and then we just went to his house and like and just like we all died in his room basically (ya) and in the morning he's like father got up and like "hey guys do you want like some bacon and eggs" and he was just like so friendly and then his mother came in and she's like (inaudible), White English people are just so much more open (they really nice)

Girl 2: like Kaitlyn my one friend (ya) from Seapoint, she's like really nice and her parents are just very welcoming to like, you don't get that vibe (ya) it's like so chilled like her other white friends from that side, her friends are mine to (ya) (inaudible) it's really great

Carla: So you, an- and now when it comes to teachers do you have any white (yea) can you can you sense the distinction between a white Afrikaans teacher and a White English (yes) (yes) (inaudible)

Girl 2: Miss Coetzee (she's English) (she's English) (ooh)

Carl: no she's English, but she was raised Afrikaans (ya but like she say)

Carla: ya like the same with me

Girl 2: she's like her father is very racist (ya, ya I-)

Carl: she is the most open person in the world

Carla: cuz my whole family is Afrikaans I was just raised English because I was born in England and I was raised there so, so ya (inaudible)

Carl: like our (ya no ya) beep beep beep like

Carla: ya no no my whole family is Afrikaans it's just my brother and I are En- English, he was born in Rome and then my parents lived there for two years and they had him and then they moved

to England and I was born there and then we lived there for another 8 years, so British Citizen (laughing) but ug no no cuz that, I find that the most interesting out of the few days that I've been at the school is the distinction between white English and the white Afrikaans, because I've never actually encountered that and even last year, in this school uhmm that I did interview they never ever made that distinction they were just like all white people. I was just like we're not all bad (yaaa) uhmm ok well I don't know, there is something else that I wanted to ask you guys... I could not remember, it has to do with, yes, I just want to know in general your schooling experience, from grade 8 to matric, in this school, that, that, that (nice save) nice save yes, good or bad? In terms of, like do you think that if you had gone to another school or is there any other school that you would have wanted to go to for any other reason (mumbling)

Carl: yes

Carla: what other school?

Girl 1: I've always wanted to go to Bellville (Is it?) at N1 high, but then I went to those schools just to play a match and everything and I'm like I wouldn't fit in here, but I would also fit in there

Carla: why would you have wanted to go to those schools?

Girl 1: because well intentionally since like basically my whole life I wanted to go there, because uhmm I find it very, how can I say, posh? (mmm) it's very posh and here it's all so like it's just normal (isit?) yes.

Carla: and you Carl:? No we can go like this it makes more sense.

Sinazo: I, I wana go back to my old school, cuz like it's an art school and like and there were like a lot of English white people (ya, what school was it?) Lady Grahos academy (ooh alright) it's like an art academy (b b b b) uhmmm it was really fun there cuz there were not, there were not a lot of Afrikaans English (mam) (what does she do?) (she's the register) (yes, ofcourse) (yes) there was not a lot of uhmm, I felt comfortable there, there's not a lot of white Afrikaans people and most of the ... I'm not racists or anything but I felt more comfortable there because the people there were like from America (ya) and England

Carla: So just like a little bit of everything you just felt like... (ya) and for you?

Girl 3: well I came in grade 10 here, I came from Sea Point high school which is in Sea Point (laughing) and uhhh it was mostly black people that side school and there was like a few coloureds and problem just like one Afrikaans (ya) student, white Afrikaans (oh), so I was use to that environment with black people and stuff and going to school with my race and stuff and then I came here and it's all different because I'm not use to the environment (ya) and be with white people, and col- well coloured people yes but then mostly white people. So I came in grade 10 and the feeling that I got when I came here was like aagg "I don't wana be here" and stuff, I wana go back to my old school, cuz I had no friends and like I can't relate to white people (ya), there's that there's that, (mmm) that vibe, I can't So I just, ooh black people and I went to the black people (exactly, that's what happened) exactly (inaudible) but then as the year went by I mingled with coloured people, obviously in class and stuff and then until now I don't think I have white friends (isit?). I do speak with them (ya) like you know (they acquaintances not very much friends) ya

Carla: and you Carl:? Are you happy?

Carl:: no, no, (laughing) If I could I'd go to like Redham or like any Tokai, just somewhere far away like Constantia (Southern suburbs) (mmm)

Carla: because it's more English?

Group: (laugh) yes.

Carl:: I (sigh)... It's just because it more English and like it's more white English so I know they are more open like, but now I'm thinking like the white people in this school are only racist when they are all together, so I'm thinking now if I went all the way there, it's basically just white people so, maybe what if I get like the same thing there (ya) just in a different language (laughing) (it could be) ya.

Carla: It could be, but guys I don't want o keep you from your classes so I'm going to stop (mumbling) (we'll just like get a late slip or) I mean, cuz Mr XXX does know you're here, he did see us this morning. He's my uncle so (laughing) so I. Ok but now I'm interested why you said that about uhhh, you said they would they all racist when they come together (ya) as in? as in they not racist on-on-one?

Group: no, no, not at all

Carl:: they would not dare, they, would, not dare. (they always have backup, like verse support)(they always have a group of people) ya (oh yes especially him) (yea) and Willem

Carla: oh well, Willem just sounds (laughing) (the name says it all) (inaudible)

Carl:: amah Willem is so selfish (gasp)

Carla: so, so like when they together they get that, so let's say five people had to walk towards you now, five white Afrikaans people had to walk towards you as a black student (gasp)

Carl:: I wouldn't do anything, but you just know for a fact that as they walk past they will say something to you (and they will think bad of you) (because of your race or something)

Sinazo: and oh my word, sometimes in the passages, like the hall way when you walking to school, I mean class there was like this group of white boys and they just go, they make like weird comments or something or go boo! Or something like in my face (yaw) (yea), or sometimes, the other day they throwed an apple at me remember (ya), and I threw a chip back (laughing) and I was like you can't do that to my friend

Carla: and now these are the white Afrikaans people (yes) what is what is it mostly matrices?

Sinazo: no it was this other I don't know this guy, he is always wearing shorts and he has a red bag (with blonde hair) yes.

Carl: noo, he's so pretty (laughing)

Girl 2: I don't like him

Carla: ok well so there is that little that sense of intimidation

Group: yes!

Girl 2: and they just go like BOO! Or something or like touch like your hair, like they do things or they just push you around or they tease you or

Carl:: that is so weird cuz they don't do that to me as a boy they only do that to the girls...

Girl 2: exactly (exactly) because, I think it's because they know that the girls will react if like more quicker than boys.

Carl:: ya because the thing is they feel like they have power over girls (yea) (ya)

Carla: I mean, do- do you think that's a part of the culture the Afrikaans white culture?

Carl:: no I think it's just part of (just being) heterosexual male culture (isit?) just to feel more powerful than your opposite gender.

Carla: so, so but now when you would like, does this happen every day or like once a week?

Carl:: zide we here (we here), that was our class captain and we're telling him that we are not absent (oh ok)

Carla: do you wana just tell him that you are here (no he saw us) ok, just tell him that you busy with an interview (oh) oh does he know, ok allright, uhmm, but so it happens, I didn't hear now that like

Girl 2: like twice a week or just (just happens randomly) or randomly (on average) you never know (ya).

Carla: so like on average it happens maybe like once or twice a week. Mk, I can't be- so so ther- now but do you is it from- and the girls, the white Afrikaans girls (uh no they just)

Carl:: uuh they like more into their mouths than the actual thing (exactly)

Carla: so so they say things (yes) (ya they'll just like) to you or behind your back? (you'll see)

Girl3: behind you back or sometime it'll look like you walk past and then you look back and everyone is looking at you, like you know when people are talking about you (ya) so it's like walk past look and they all like (inaudible)

Carla: an now so a question now have you guys, that use to be an issue in our school, so you ever have issues with teachers about your hair?

Group: yes! Ya (laughing)

Carla: what do they (laughing) what do they say?

Girl 1: the hair colour the hair style (the hair style) when you tie your hair, oh (the way you tie your hair)

Girl 2: we have braid right so (mmm) sometimes it's really painful and hurt and heavy, so we like tie the half of it and then we try and tell them like it's got (it's heavy) it's heavy and its gonna be like painful for the first week, but we will tie it up after that, and they like noo tie your hair, sometimes the colour you have your white people that are not naturally blonde but go blonde and that's not a problem (yeaa) but when we go like blonde (or auburn or something and a bit of ya) then they go this is not your natural hair colour, you should, you should (you should) just get black hair

Carl: and there's actually no rule against that, (ya) the rule is that you can have any hair colour as long as it is natural colour, black, brown, (mm) blonde (obviously not like purple and pink)

Carla: so there is no school rule against it, just teacher's personal opinions (yes) and those teachers that have the personal opinions (miss, miss van Zyl) (van Zyl)

Carl: oh yea, you really can't tell with her because one moment she's like the nicest person to you in the world and then the other, the next she just hates you

Carla: so but do you think, which teachers are the nicest, the younger or older, or younger older or so like in the middle (the younger) (middle age to me)

Girl 3 or Carl?: it's really under older (mmm) I don't know the younger ones like I don't have a problem with them like Mr XXX uhmm (oh XXX) and uhmm Mrs XXX the only black pers- (they are chilled) ya the only young person I have a problem with is the art teacher (mmm) (ya) and then the older they all fine but I do not like Mr XXX and I don't like miss XXX... much... (he) I don't hmm-uh

Carla: and you, but you take consumers?

Girl 2: no I don't (mumbling)

Carla: I want to find out about this consumers teacher, there is somebody (Jolene), Jolene she was saying about the consumers teacher Jolene, she's interesting, when she first spoke I was like

huh (giggling) why is there Irish coming out? I was so confused. Same like like when Ian was telling me that like he doesn't speak any African languages I was like (what's this) (what) (Don't lie) (Zambian or something) He says that his father is black and his mother is coloured, I think.

Carl:: I don't know like his other, his mother was pretty dark (laughing)

Carla: ok guys, I don't think I have any more questions for you, that's basically all I wanted to find out.

Appendix F: White students focus group interview

I: Yes, this will be right, okay uhhh... What do you guys think is the mainstream culture , in the school?

Francois: Coloureds

I: Coloureds... coloureds and the mainstream language?

Francois: English.

Nicole: English.

I: ok and, do you feel ...that at all influenced by the mainstre - well by the coloureds. Do you feel influenced by them at all, (no) (nope) negatively ... ok. Do you feel a negatively impact by any other students in the school? Do you get a vibe from anybody else?

Francois: ya (yes)

I: Ok... and who?

Francois: (inaudible) it depends on the coloureds as well cuz you get different types of coloureds, you get the like Jolene as well she comes from another place.

I: I am so confused when she started speaking. (Laugh) It's like Irish

Francois: And then you get the like gam coloreds. That bring the knives to school and stuff and you don't know what you should do so.

I: Carl was saying that you guys have the the like drug tests or not drug tests (ya) drug tests? and and like apparently they find weapons on the kids (sometimes yes) isit? ok so oo, so the coloureds you kind of it a mixed vibe (yea) and how many

Nicole: I'm alright with the coloureds I get the mixed vibes when it comes to the Afrikaans people (lauging) ya (thats a shame) uhhh it's just because I was raised english and stuff like that

I'm just not used to an English person mixing better with the coloureds instead of their own race but eh I'm trying to get use to it (get them use to it) (laughing)

I: okay but what do you feel now as an Afrikaans white person in this school

Francois: (inaudible)

I: so do you feel that like, cuz I was hearing from other people, let's put it this way, that the Afrikaans white people, and now ask who do you think um like runs the school then they actually said Afrikaans people. So do you, but are you a part of the group that runs the school, (yes mam) isit? ok, yay uhmm are you part of ok sounds horrible like do you play rugby? (yes mam) oh ok (giggling) uhmm so ok what's your opinion, you here to like fight for you fight for the white Afrikaans people here

Cammy: I think the people must like stop taking us like lightly (inaudible) it's like a major English school (mmm) we have opinions and don't take no cuz we have opinions

I: but so an- and do you have any issues with some students in the school? (no) in your grade?

Francois: Not personal issues but ... they do irritate me (Isit?) the like loud people (who are the loud people) (inaudible) (Isit?) grade 8s

Nicole: The Africans.

I: Isit, the grade 8s shame but they always annoying. uhm oh but do you, so you do you feel like some black people are like a little bit

Cammy: a bit also a lot to do with their culture but because the people are loud (inaudible) (Isit?) so I, I have Zulu friends but I don't call them friends (Isit?) (inaudible) Zulu people are like Zulu Afrikaans they can't speak English so like translate (ya)

I: So do you find that like that's a, that's a issue the language more than the race? (ya, culture is an issue) culture's an issue

Francois: (inaudible) they don't understand why I sokkie and they kick their things up (laughing)

I: So it's more of a culture thing than it is a race, ok and do you guys have an issue, I mean- with any the like any language issue in this school?

Nicole: Well I feel some of the subjects, if you a bilingual class you can swop and change your language, sometimes the teachers forget, like say majority is that Afrikaans in a class and there's like 9 English and the rest is Afrikaans, they tend to speak the majority's language (ya) where the rest of us suffering technically, like I take biology (ya) and it's in a bilingual class and majority is Afrikaans, and biology is not the easiest subject to learn in Afrikaans (oooh Afrikaans noo, ya) sooo, there I slack down a bit, but then again it's also we have a Afrikaans teacher that is like very, how can I say, criticizes a person due to your smartness and (Isit?) ya and she'll like (and also the race) ya, ya

Francois: If you are white, you suppose to do well in Afrikaans

Nicole: Ya, like if he didn't do his homework, she will be like jaa uhmm...

Francois: Like in the first week of the time we got to, was it in grade 9 ey (mmm) we got her in grade 9 our first week I think and I didn't do homework (yaya) and she's like "nee, jys wit jy moet jy moet jou huiswerk doen" and I was like uhmm doesn't mean if I'm white I'm suppose to speak Afrikaans

Nicole: and a good example, ok he gets nearly demerits every single class because he doesn't do homework, but I also don't do homework but the teacher doesn't even check my book she just assumes (that) I'm done, up to date and everything

I: Do any teachers- do you have any experience where you feel as white people in the class that you've been like you have a little (treated better) treated better (ya) and you?

Francois: I've had a similar situation like that (isit?) all my classes are Afrikaans

I: all your classes are Afrikaans? So then how does that work? So (it's, it's really Afrikaans) but can you choose or just can you choose to have bilingual classes (my history class is Afrikaans) Everyone is Afrikaans (the majority is English) ya (and uhmm the like 4 Afrikaans but the teacher is Afrikaans) So he speaks Afrikaans throughout? (yes) seriously? And do you think like, do do the English people, is your class obviously white, coloured or black?

Francois: coloured, I'm the only white and the other white he thinks he's coloured (Isit?)

I: Oh (laughing) so do you feel that if like, do they get angry the coloured students?

Francois: No they they actually they in matric now so they don't care

I: They don't? (they use to) but not anymore? So if, even if it is a bilingual teachers mostly speak Afrikaans?

Boy 1: yea, the teachers are Afrikaans (inaudible)

I: Jeez okay, but then, I'm just thinking of a question now, but I completely forgot, uhmm...

Cammy: this was an Afrikaans school (mmm) so

I: cuz it's a former model C school and it

Cammy: It's like we go to Khayelitsha now then and they expect, we expect them to teach us Afrikaans (ya) it wasn't like that

I: It wasn't supposed to be like that, Okay. But then uhmm, how do you feel then like the black learners do you feel that if they asked for them to speak more English, I mean are the teachers obligated to do so do you feel? (ya)

Cammy: the teachers don't mind, it's like they just forget sometime (Isit?)

I: So if they get reminded, they'll say "Olay, I'll repeat it in English"

Nicole: They very use to their, (inaudible) remembering that they need to swop their languages now and then

I: and do any of you take art... or consumers (consumers) oh cuzja, cuzja it was in your class, that you guys were telling me about the consumers teacher that's a little bit old school. (ohja) ok no, cuz I wana figure out about this art teacher, because apparently she's very young and ...

Nicole: very young very young

I: and apparently had a very interesting debate about race the other day

Nicole: oh no we didn't have class

I: ya, I want to find a little bit different perspective on that, Okay so then when it comes in terms of ok the black students I was hearing yesterday from the students that they feel a bit threatened by – ok now I'm gonna ask you directly- by the Afrikaans white people, do you feel that you guys threaten them? Or do you just think that

Cammy: I think they just scared of us on the sports field (inaudible) (giggle) and if they sukkel with us then ja because you know what's gonna happen with the school on sports day (giggle)

Nicole: but I also-, but i also find where Africans or the black, they get very offensive very quickly, like you'll just like say something and then all of a sudden they'll like go off on you and not even quietly though they will like start shouting.

I: isit?

Nicole: ja

Boy : and if you just mention the word black they also get like...

Nicole: ja they will like totally offence to it

Francois: just say coloured

I : so if you say black then..

Nicole: ja

Francois: its sorta like a racist thing.

I: but now that's the thing i mean you guys are mostly in white you guy like very few I mean you only 2 white children in your whole admin class 12e1 doesn't have 1 white student. So in the Afrikaans classes more white students?

Boy : there's 2 coloured people.

I: seriously?

Francois: in my class (inaudible)

I: yoh so in the Afrikaans classes it's just ...

Francois: (inaudible)

Nicole: majority

Francois: it's like Afrikaans class it's like 4 in matrix then 6 so its 6 English classes and 4 Afrikaans classes

I: yoh so it's actually the English is pretty much taken over now

Girl : ya

Boy : and the grade 8 this year is only 2 Afrikaans classes and 7 English classes

I: now why do you think it is that the English is taking over now?

Cammy: Cause all the boere are going to Bellville.

Nicole: ja I can tell you the children that's now from that in the Afrikaans classes majority of them come from Micro and from de Kuilen those Afrikaans learner but majority of mikro learners lately because they are Afrikaans school majority Afrikaans they believe uhm de Kuilen isn't good enough for their children so they will rather go to Brackenfell or Bellville or DF Malan so

Francois: in audible

Nicole: ja they they they won't evens think twice about coming to de Kuilen only the more down to earth people that's in there.

I: well i mean would you guys feel more comfortable in a different school if you have your li- if you had your whole high school career over again?

Francois: no

Nicole: ja I would feel out.

I so you would feel. if you had to go to Bellville no I lie that's out, if you had to go to Fairmont.

Nicole: I'll feel completely out.

I isit? and what primary school did you guys go to?

Nicole: I went to de Kuilen primary

Francois: we went to de Kuilen primary

Cammy: (inaudible)

Nicole: and then he came over to de Kuilen.

I: oh ok but then um what did I want to ask now, ok I'm quite interested because I mean you now you the only person who can maybe answer me this now uhhh do you um do you think ok how is your family situation at like home

Francois: my father is a pastor

I: are they but are they all like are they very happy about all that is going on ?

Francois: Government?

I: yes let's say do you think that question I'm getting on to is where do you get your racial histories from where do you guys think all coming from, do you get it from your parents, is it from the communities, is it from the schools, is it from any things that you have about race, where do you think it comes from, originates from.

Francois: that's a tough one

Nicole: mmm that is a tough one

I: like where where do you t...

Francois: I was a rebel, my parents were (inaudible), I don't wana mock my parents

I: ya they wont know HAHAAHA

Francois: so like what I did was mostly rebel against them so when they said yeah um don't ... they don't say don't become friends with coloureds

Cammy: don't date a coloured

Francois: ja like something like that and like its really tough you can't you can't like bring a coloured friend home or whatever with being mocked the next day

I: isit?

Francois: ja

I: ok I was also like that my grandfather when I first had coloured people to my house, he asked what they doing here so I mean I suppose that . and your family if you had to come home with a coloured girlfriend.

Francois: hee, I won't be able to walk for a while

I: isit? ha if you had to come home with a coloured boyfriend?

Nicole: I did already.

I: isit?

Nicole: my parents were shocked at first but then they started to accept it but I know my mom kept on telling me please tell me when your marry a white guy (laughing)

I: ok but do you guys feel that um let's say if the school was more white do you feel that if is there any like awkwardness let say in English class let's say you guys are doing a apartheid poems, do you ever feel awkward?

Francois: yes

Nicole: we feel awkward cuz like everyone just looks at us and if something has to be mentioned like say now that whole Hitler thing and they will like now look at Francois and be like ahh Nicole you totally the blonde and blue eyes and I'm like people really

I: ja I used to get that when I was blonde

Nicole: they associate us to yohole time together

I: So like anytime someone white does anything they turn to you

Nicole: ja they just look at us

I: blame you for everything

Francois: (inaudible)

I: even if but now in in for you cuz now you have the Afrikaans perspective so in Afri- like Afrikaans you probably do a lot of poems that have

Francois: we do lots of poems about PW Botha and that kind of stuff but we don't care cuz like we know who he is...

I: ja

Francois: there's no whites that like talking about him... (in audible) the 2 coloured people are (pretty much white) how can I say they Afrikaans (inaudible)

I: ja so you don't really have class with black students hey ?

Francois: no only (maths), math and history.

I: isit and do you have any black friends

Francois: I have a black friend I grew up with.

I: isit

Francois: he's Afrikaans and Zulu, he's the one I told you about.

I: ohhh ok so with do you feel bit do you think that's why maybe you have a little bit, that's why you prefer maybe the Zulu people cuz you maybe understand their culture

Cammy: I understand them like such as I feel like I speak their language like the Xhosa I can understand I cant understand, that language but if you speak I can hear Zulu and I can

understand kinda like what he is saying, so I don't feel left out when they speak Zulu about it, let's say in my maths class then there 2 girls that are always like shouting like Zulu stuff and laughing and it make s me demoer in

I: ja

Cammy: cz they cz because they don't know like what they saying and they could be saying anything like how would they feel if I said to them "jissie maar julle is nou dom" they don't understand what I'm saying

I: so do you think- cuz I mean I also feel that that's why I always said I want to study Xhosa so I can hear what people say to m about me maybe in a shopping malls, do the people speak a lot, like say for instance the blacks children in the class, do they speak their language within the classroom a lot

Nicole: ja well technically when they want to gossip with someone they change over to their own language

I but do you know they gossiping or do you like assume they gossiping

Francois: body language

Nicole: you can feel it, you can see it in their body language that they gossiping

Francois: (inaudible)

Nicole: they make it so obvious that they gossiping

Francois: they laugh at you, like they almost verlekking themselves if you can understand

I: ok but so I mean

Francois: it's not, it's not the boys its...

Nicole: it's mostly the girls...

Francois: the boys aren't so (the boys will tell you straight if they got a problem with you)

I: ja boys are much easier

Cammy: (inaudible) we not in that phase anymore

I: but that's now another interesting question, do you feel it's easier to mix with the black boys or black girls?

Francois: black boys are really cool

I: whose less clicky?

Nicole: the girls

Francois: I think

Nicole: that's because that's because well I don't want to say this out loud but the majority of black girls in our school is lesbian and we we we scared of them because if we associate with them they could put up the snobbish wall becuz they don't like you or something or you'll be too scared to associate with them because they might like be interested in you

I: but do you feel then like as well that they have almost like another thing to like to be aggressive about because not only now they black they lesbian as well, do you feel that like that influences them like so you mean you have to be very careful about what you say around them?

Nicole: ja because you you never know becuz they very offensive you never know when they gonna like go down on you or (laughing) (it's a funny word)

I: haaa that's so funny(inaudible)...anyway moving on ok break times you've explained to me nicely what happens now where do the Afrikaans whites and English cuz I never to say the distinction before I've always assumed it was white with whites and then I realised there are Afrikaans whites and whites cz im an English white but all my friends are Afrikaans whites, no issue but it's just because my family is Afrikaans so I prefer Afrikaans culture I don't think I've never dated a English boy I've I had a English friend that turned out horribly so um is that every English friend I've had no offence (laughing) but I'm just like so at breaks where do you hang out

Francois: there's um cement bankies there that's like what you aim for since grade 8.

Cammy: the shade

Francois: that's how you get there ja

I: isit, um then and your, who do you hang out with at breaks isit mostly

Francois: rugby boys and poppies...

I: the poppies (laughing) I love how reguit you are its perfect.. en the poppies

Francois: ja it's like the rugby boys and their girlfriends.

I: and their girlfriends

Francois: and their girlfriends obviously click cuz that's our style (inaudible) (ja) and the boys click because we know how to pass the ball to each other.

I: and then so you guys don't mix at break?

Nicole: mhmm

Francois: sometime we have like duty together.

Cammy: ja (inaudible)

I: so but do you feel do

Francois: (inaudible) I think that's it

I: are you family?

Francois: (inaudible)

Cammy: my grandma and his oupa are like nephews and niggies.

I: oh so it's like far removed

Francois: ya but we still family.

I: ja it's still family it's still blood (laugh) but um why do you think it is that you don't mix at break, is it just ?

Francois: I think it's (inaudible) there's also different for white white (inaudible) there's very little white people um especially English white people so they spread around and they like mix the coloureds so it's like here's white black, I know one white person there it will be one white person playing soccer, there will be me under the smokers tree

I: but those white people are they then English or Afrikaans

Francois: um they (inaudible)

Cammy: they like friends with the coloured (inaudible) cuz they in their class, you make friends with people in your class cuz you stick around in class and stuff it's not like say me and him make friends and you the only friend that's in my class he's your only friend that's in my class (inaudible) and they obviously with coloured people in class and we you will hang out with those people.

Nicole: and then another thing is what you trying to say is there by the trees, ok there you'll get mix, English Afrikaans cuz that's the only place you'll not get caught, but majority you'll find one white person between that will probably be the English white person that stands out but the rest is Afrikaans there against the wall or at the back

I: and do you think that if you in an Afrikaans class now both you guys if you weren't fully Afrikaans classes that you would have few coloured friends.

Nicole: probably

Francois: probably

Nicole: cuz they all associate us as the Afrikaans white, you do not associate with us.

I: cuz Jolene you can actually maybe tell us about this is it con co cobbie is it cobby

Francois: Cabby

I: Cabbie Cabby (is that like you) (inaudible) aaah Cammy, I thought it's Cabby

I: you can maybe tell me about those Jolene was saying something about a Afrikaans door where all the Afrikaans or the white people stand in the mornings.

Francois: Afrikaans door? (is daardie deur daar by die tennis bane en die Astro bane)

I: is is that, do you stand there in the mornings

Francois: no I don't stand there, I come a bit late.

I: so so who stands there, do you guys know who stands there?

Francois: its like they all Afrikaans people but they not really that cool (it's more the)

Francois: ...just chill there cz that's were all the cars are standing and they wa.. and they'd like the be associated with cars, not their cars but.

all (inaudible)

I: cuz Jolene says she's afraid of walking in there in the mornings that she doesn't walk through there ...

Nicole: no they more like the

Francois: they really stage people

Nicole: ohhhh I know where she's talking about, it's the girl with the black hair, short black hair, I said I'm also scared of her, (inaudible) there, her group sits there

Francois: (inaudible) she's not lekker in the kop..

Nicole: but she's she's very loud and she scares the coloureds, I know who they talking about

Francois: she's...she's not scared to say what she thinks so I like that but she's not like really (anything) threatening she's just (ya)

Nicole: but she is nice (she is uncontrollable) she she is nice, I saw the other side of her

Francois: she's like a white black person

I: Jesus

Francois: She'll speak if she wants to speak

I: but then how do you guys feel, k now I mean the black and the coloureds, whose the most chilled, whose? who is the easiest in the school

ALL the coloureds

I: the coloured people, so everybody here gets along with the coloureds

ALL ja

I: and you guys, they've never had issue with you, I mean you never have issues with them

Francois: not about colour but other stupid stuff

I and Nicole: like ja random stuff

Francois: but ja like I don't know

I: and I mean are there any stories any times from grade 8 to grade 12 that you've had issue with a black student

Nicole: I had a issue with a coloured person

I: so its never been like you've never?

Nicole: nooo

Francois: if you associate with them that's just like you greeting them to be friendly...

Nicole: I know ...

I: do you know do you guys have any black friends

Francois: I've got a black friend but not here

I: yeah

Francois: he's not in this school

Nicole: I talk to some of the blacks but in a way I think they kinda of scared of me but I don't know why cuz I'm very harmless

I: shame that must be horrible

Francois: (inaudible)

Nicole: (laughing) My dad's also harmless (why what does your dad do?) My dad is a chairperson of de Kuilen in for 5-7 years

I: Oh Ok so they know him (ya) uhmm I had a question oh my gosh it was in my head (had something to do with black students) uhmm Oh my word it completely slipped my mind

Francois: You were asking about do you they get on with black students (yaa) and you said he's friendly (and then) and she spoke about her dad

I: ya Oh my word what was it. It's going to drive me crazy now. This has never happened. Oh my gosh I'm just think quickly. Sorry talk amongst yourself 2 seconds I must just think.

(background chatter)

I: ah there we go, I'm back, I'm back, uhmm so if I had to say because that's what I've been hearing about this vibe, everybody seems to be describing it as a vibe- would you legit-ly feel- on your personal side, now not as a collective group feel that there is a vibe between you and the black students... from your guys side?

Francois: (inaudible)

I: So you wouldn't think like that there's this

Cammy: there is this black boy in school (inaudible)

Nicole: we can get along with them it's just they throw the vibes to us like

Francois: they feel threatened against us (ya) (inaudible)

Nicole: We can see in their body language, that for some odd reason they threatened by us its nothing o so with them its nothing to do with us

I: So it's never really been a issue, ok and are there any teachers who feel negatively towards them

Cammy: no not that we can see

I: Not that you can see, so you've never like sat in class and thought to yourself...

Nicole: (Afrikaans) Afrikaans teacher

I: So uh does she say things? is it body language what

Nicole: She said once in grade 9 I think, she said something against Ian, he's the only the only (ya, ya ya Ian ya) said something against Ian, and Ian took it really offensive, I think he started crying still, I think it was (shame) grade 8, 9 or 10 one of the two. It's still happened I was sitting behind him I felt really sorry for him because (she picks on him) it wasn't necessary

Francois: Like today in Afrikaans, I mean I was talking loud (inaudible) (giggle) she picks on the guy behind me

I: I'm assuming she's white (uhhuh) Do you guys have any black teachers in the school?

Nicole: No,

Francois: We have two (huh) coloured teachers (coloured teachers) (they coloured)

I: Only two (two I think) (two or three)

Francois: (inaudible) Mrs Louw (inaudible)

Nicole: It's four

I: Jeess ok, and what do they teach mostly

Boy and Nicole: Afrikaans, Geography and...

I: And none of you have classes with any of them

Francois: I have miss Danken

I: And do you feel the coloured people prefer a coloured teacher

Francois: Ja I guess soo

I: Like the attitude towards them towards...

Francois: It's exactly the way they treat white teachers

I: K, so it's exactly the same cuz I've never been, I've never had a coloured teachers

Nicole: But I do know the Cassidy- the uh like a coloured speaking to a coloured like a coloured teacher I know the children will be more easy to test because like okay it's gonna sound wrong, but you know like coloureds have this gam English (yes) and when they speak to the coloured teacher they can talk normally to them and teachers won't find it wrong. Where if you talk like that to a white teacher they'll be like, where do you come from?

I: Uhhh, so the teachers do they have to say something about the coloured people's accent? (yes) and the black people do they ever

Nicole: the way they speak because sometimes it's disrespectful but where the coloured teacher's will like understand, k that's how you talk, but the white teacher's will be like you've got no respect for the teacher

I: Ok guys I actually think that's very much it, I just wanted to- there's nothing else really, is there anything you guys have that is scandalous? ... No? nothing? Ok thank you guys for standing up for the white Afrikaans people today, cuz I felt so bad cuz like ya I wonder if it's really as bad as they say it is. It's nice to hear the other side of the story. So thank you for that.

Appendix G: Coloured students focus group interview

Carla: Please work, is it recording, 6 of 6, yes. OK. OK, where was the first question: Do you feel influenced in any way by the mainstream culture, in the school. Or firstly, what do you think of the mainstream culture is in the school?

Jolene: Uhhmm, I don't know, cause when like I came here, was in like the last year, I thought mainstream was being that coloured person, like speaking like coloureds all of that. Then like the (wha ah uh) wider spectrum, then you kinda go more inwards and you can like can pick out people that are not mmm, that are not, that don't like uhhh stay with that stereotype that you formulate in your head as soo, cuz obviously when you walking to school you start, getting opinions of people, you tryna figure out how the whole school works and whatever, and so for me that's how I thought it was being coloured ever and then like you pick up like, people living here, like you know, you can pick out people that are not, they don't fit that stereotype.

Carla: Oraait, so when you say like that coloured like are we talking more like Cape coloured?

Jolene: Yes (laughing/ giggling)

Carla: Like likelike

Chante: Gam speaking, pants hanging (background agreement)

Carla: actually aren't so many of that in, in most schools

Jolene: There is that crew in our school (Yea) there is that crew

Carla: What's your name again?

Chante: Chante

Carla: Chante, OK wait so its Chante, Danalia, I'm gonna say Danalia the whole time, sorry. And then your name is? Michaela, and yours Jamie, Jamie I'll remember cuz my best friend's name is Jamie, Okay so, Makalu, Chante, and then Danalia and then Jolene and Jamie, OK got it. I'll remember your voice is easy to sound apart (everyone laughing)

Jolene: I was gonna say that just listen... (inaudible, everyone mumbling)

Carla: Ja you can say, OK. So do you guys then feel, Ok well, being the majority culture and then race, how do you, how do you feel, that if how does it work in your everyday life. Do you feel affected, do people stare at you strangely, do people treat you differently, at school?

Jolene: When that white girl, remember? When we were walking to the bathroom, that white girl swore at us, remember that? (answer: aah I remember that). (inaudible sound)

Danalia: Please tell, this sounds interesting.

Jolene : We were walking to the bathroom,

Chante: We were walking and then the bell rang

Jolene : Yes

Chante: rang and then uhmm, I took my rain jacket and then zipped it up all the way, like over my face and didn't see, so my friends like spinned me around and I couldn't see anything and then, I dunno she was walking from this direction like, ok can I say the left side, and I was walking like on the right. And then she like walked into me, but obviously I did not see her, she could clearly see I was like spinning around and stuff. And she bumped into me and then I was like oh sorry (softer) and she was like swore me out (what the fuck is he) yea and I'm like woa, hold up, (background laughing), like okay, to like chill girl what's wrong with you, like are you like having a bad day or what.

Jolene: We were literally like chill girl...what's wrong with you!

Chante: Like are you having a bad day or what?

(background chatter)

Danalia: Uhmm, Uhmm, we were, I was walking in break and then, uhmm we, we as coloureds are always like huhhuh against other people (background laughing)

Carla: What does errr mean?

Jolene: that how it sounds, loud, (dominant people), we are yea.

Danalia: and especially me I'm very aah mmm, stop making sounds (laughing), anyway so then uhmm this white guy in matric, he bumps into me and I was like walking in front of him so he can see me, anyway (giggle) and then I was like uuuh excuse me can you just say sorry please because that was so rude, and then he turns around and just like walks away, which was weird because usually like the white people at school they like kinda tiptoe around (yes) have you noticed that, they kinda tiptoe, anyway and then he just looks at me and walks on and then I was like, I started like shouting and like (laughing), and then but I was upset, like that's so rude like if I bumped into someone I would say sorry like you did.

Chante: but the thing is we do that to anything Chante, we do that to anyone, yea scream at anyone, (mumbling) like yesterday there's this new thing about waiting for the bathroom (ah ya - background) so I like really needed to use the bathroom, but also had a Bio test and we had to be there in break because (inaudible) and these stupid little grade 10 or 11 boys they stand, like in the doorway on each side and they 'kip' people. I'm like what the fuck is wrong with you, why would you do that (everyone laughing), I was so angry I barely studied for bio and I was like so stressed out and I was like just worsen this day for me why don't you miserable twine and it was a coloured guy.

Group: yea, oh yea

Carla: But now when you say now the white people usually tiptoe...

Group: mmm think they kinda scared of us (they scared)

Jolene: I think they think that we are trying to run and hit them or something

Danalia: the only ones who don't is more like the trailer park kind of white people

Michaela: Although I think it's the white girls, the white girls in general (inaudible)

Danalia: No not like the, the certain white girls (background mumble) and yaya those girls won't say anything to us, the posh ones,

Group: mmm

Chante: they won't say anything to us, but more like the they (everyone talking), that guys girlfriend

Carla: Ja, the one that hit...

Chante: Ya she the one that turned around and started shouting at her

Danalia: she starts shouting at me, firstly she's younger than me, that must just end the conversation there because you're not even allowed to be younger than me (everyone laughing) really I'm wearing my cardigan, anyway and then uhmm, she's like uhmm "Wat kyk jy so!?" and I was like WHAT? He bumped into me, he's just suppose to say excuse me and then she just starts like tripping on me and I'm like, I was so shocked and then she walks away and then I was like hold up I want to get to you (laughing), but like stuff like that that was so weird

Jolene: Yea, and also like our boys our coloured boys only see white girls as a prize (everyone responding) when a coloured boy gets a white girl it's like dude you are like the coolest person ever and oh my god like our one friend was dating a white girl and like we are all mutual friends and so the boys are like oh my god he's dating a white girl like congratulations like it's such a big thing, but if they get with a coloured girl there is so much scrutiny like and if they get with a white girl like she is the most perfect creature on the planet (or even a light coloured), a light skin, any light skin (yoo), but then if they like get with a coloured girl the amount of scrutiny the other the friends will place on that girl like oh my god look at her hair, why isn't her hair straight like have some shampoo.

Danalia: and even worse is if it is a black person then that's that's when you go you cannot do that (mm ya)

Carla: So the coloured person dates a black person it's like

Danalia: Yeah, stick to your own race..

Michaela: Ok she's bisexual (inaudible) she actually dated Swen and he (is it – ya) so she cheated on Swen with...

Chante: oh this is interesting

Jamie: Aah white people be like uhmm like stick to that stereotype of coloured people are like this and that cuz in my history class we have this I uhmm dunno if you can call him white (Oh yes) but he is white (everyone talking) I dunno we tend to like we very jokey and like all we

and we are loud and stuff and then we were like talking to me and my one friend and then he was like “you so gam” and I was like ho, excuse me, (inaudible) excuse me if you want me to show you what gam is I’ll will gladly demonstrate what that is.

Jolene: He speaks Afrikaans and with white people then he goes at break and he like (sound) with the coloured boys

Michaela: and I was like I was making a joke but I was kinda like insulting him but like you know you know the way we joke man (mumbling) so then uhmm he was just like “why you so gam?” and all this stuff and

Carla: just somme out of the blue?

Michaela: Yes, and uhmm what do they call that girls that like oh from the skim, what do they call... skim girls (skin cutters) (laughing)

Carla: a what a what?

Michaela: I was like wooh ok, that’s so rude he is like I was so offended

Carla: what does he call them?

Michaela: (No nono no) (inaudible), but like a skin smet girl and I was like and I’m gam and I was like wooh

Carla: and he is he white? (everyone responds) White Afrikaans or white English?

Chante: White English, so he went to XXX with us but, (but his cool, but he’s Afrikaans) he speaks some Afrikaans ya, he speaks Afrikaans with the white people but when he’s with us he is all mm mm all gam with a beanie on his head like some coloured girls head is gonna mince, gaaah I can’t stand him, cuz he like sooo rude like where did you get that from and (everyone talking)

Carla: but do you? Oh ok sorry go on

Chante: I was like ok, us coloured girls

Jamie : he use to be in our class and we had this art project once and we had to put up this whole production set-up thing and then we like we were discussing something and he turned it into an argument it's a simple thing that could have been solved but then he wanted it done his way, he's so full of nonsense and so he said to say that is soo gam or coloured of him (yaa) and I was like what is that suppose to mean (mumbling) but there is Lauren right there coloured as well he totally infatuated with her though but

Carla: Is Lauren the white coloured?

Jamie: yes (yaa), that's fine now all of a sudden.

Carla: but do you guys then feel you get more of an attitude from the white people than you do from the black people?

Jamie: Definitely

Danalia: (mumbling) black people are soo chilled (yea)

Chante: and they friendly too (mumbling)

Danalia: you can literally go sit over there ya

Chante: I think white people they just like avoid like making eye contact or talking to us or like even smiling, when you walk past them they don't

Jolene: They like they don't know if they should smile or not

Danalia: Scared I'm gonna get stabbed (laughing)

Jamie: The only time they associate with the other races is whether they in the class or not and then obviously, it's just like like you can still see the separation (yea, ya) like if there is a bench there is a whole bunch of white guys and coloured guys...

Carla: Is the bench in the shade?

Jamie: ya, the bench is in the shade,

Danalia: Have you ever been outside when its uh..it's

Carla: Break time

Jamie: ya (inaudible)

Jolene: yea you sit and observe like it's ridiculous

Carla: it's exactly as everybody explained to me

Jolene: exactly then people sit, then of course there are some exceptions like,

Carla: the smoking where smokers go

Jolene: yea (mumbling)

Carla: multiracial

Danalia :Drugs and cigarettes or they catching on nonsense together and that's the only time they associate with other races..

Jamie: even there by the smokers ne, and I like use to stand there with Aiden, the white people are still separate from the coloureds (Yes) Like you get the white smokers in the mornings. They like like asking around yea man u have a entjie there and they'll be like no we don't have almost like, and every morning they smoking certain at the back of the

Jolene: and like I will go there cause like if my friends are standing there or whatever and then the white people are like there is actually a clear division, like the white people literally sit here and and they smoke like in the gutter thingy and then the coloured boys are like standing by the bin and then if I go and stand there just a little bit closer to the white people it's like (softer) why is she why is she here? Like I feel so uncomfortable if I'm standing there cuz its almost like oh god what's that coloured person,

Jamie: the white boys they like they own the coloured girls they probably have like a body or a big bum (mumbling) Like that's the only thing they interested, like there was this one boy in matric that I had a thing with and he was white and then he told me like he wanted to ask me to the matric ball but then and like for me to come over and stuff like that and then he told me uhmm ja, but I can't come to his dads house cuz his dad does not allow like like the mixed race thing and like uhmm so I had to like but his mom is cool with it but like his dad is like a

nono, like he will say, he said his dad will say aah like that coloured girl like aah she has a nice body or stuff like never go there like you can't date her or anything, and I was like What?

Jolene: but like the teachers are like kinda unconscious to it. Cuz like our maths teacher ey like this boy Brandon and this other boy Taarique they're completely, they're exactly the same, they both smoke they are both always late, both fail maths miserably but, but, Taarique will walk into class, they walk in together they will both be like what ten minutes late (yea) for class, mam will shout Taarique oh my God your always –the coloured boy- Taarique you're always late for class, Brandon just sit down please, that I promise you the same situation (everyone mumbling)

Carla: ya

Michaela: but my science teacher is miss miss XXX and she's like our hockey coach or whatever, he comes in class ten minutes late and if he doesn't do a project or whatever its fine just lay on your arms (mumbling). Like that attitude. And one thing was this one time she was speaking about Carl, because Carl is now there and stuff so Carl came to hug her and Carls like mam we have the same taste in guys, he told her that ne cuz she's dating a ginger or she's married to a ginger guy. As soon as she, as soon as she mentioned his name so Brandon got they like ugh why you talking about him can they go out.

Jolene: that's, that's exactly, Brandon like our teacher's so sweet like that why we say she unconscious because she doesn't realize it, but uhmm like she's really cute she gives us sweets before a test, she stresses for us and she will like handout sweets or when we get something right shell like give us sweets or whatever, and Brandon's like no mam I don't want your sweet and like if anyone else had to do that, she'd probably get really offended (ya) but Brandon is like no mam I don't want your sweet (mumbling).

Michaela: The teacher won't even speak to him and then he'll be like ah you so boring like can I just like get out of here, he like so rude he is the rudest boy I've ever met and for some reason he just never gets into trouble (mumbling)

Carla: Is this the guy that asked you to the matric ball?

Group: no

Carla: is Brandon the guy.

Group: The white coloured ya, the white (inaudible)

Carla: The white guy you 'slept' OK ya same page now, same page (mumbling)

Michaela: how rude is he?,

Jolene: He's so rude

Chante: I Noticed also there was this one day that we walked past, I dunno if it was you with me of Chloe, I dunno, we were walk past, I think it was the period just ended and then next door to us was an Afrikaans class, and then I saw a lot of them were coming out the class and then they were like upset, they seemed upset, and this one girl walked out like jajou p# eksal (ya) ek sal net loop en telling the teacher and then the teacher is just standing there and she's carrying on with the class and I was like What? I was like oh my word, we just have to back chat and like (mumbling)

Carla: and if you , and if you for instance, you seem like in a good way that you voice your own opinions

Danalia: Ya I wouldn't be so rude like like

Carla: you have respect but not like, like let's say for instance you had to now go to a teacher?

Chante: I would've gotten in such big (clap) Principals office now or Mr Roux actually

Jolene: Brandon never does his homework never, and if Taarique doesn't do like one sum, mam just like give up on him, and like Taarique I've just had get out just get out. Brandon if he doesn't do his, Brandon (soft voice) please just do your homework I know you can do this (just the first sum at least), just try. That's not even us in the class that's how it is

Michaela: I spent a long time in his company, because we had to like sit next to each other cuz they put us alphabetically and I dreaded it like every single moment (so horrible) and then like he uhmm once he like drew like a little moustache thing and put it here and did this the entire time, I'm referring to Adolf Hitler (laughing) that's what he did the entire time

Jolene: and he never gets into trouble, like I dunno never gets in trouble (mumbling)

Jamie: I think it's the school...

Michaela: and he's blonde and he's like a white school and they clearly are like such a few whites, like I think the whites just went to XXX and (laughing). I think they were like, no no no, I'm not going to be with these people.

Carla: But that actually, now that you mention it about the school because uhmm somebody else told me that in the grade 8's now there only 2 Afrikaans classes.

Group: (shocked) what?

Jolene: Its getting less and less.

Carla: and 8 and even in your matric there is 6 English classes and 4...

Chante: Isn't it less now, used to be 4 when we were in grade 8, its 3 now.

Carla: 3 Afrikaans classes?

Chante: oja

Michaela: Oh my word we take half this hall when all the matrices are here (mumbling in the background)

Carla: But now the Afrikaans people are the majority, what colour are they?

Group: White, white

Carla: White. Are they all like...

Michaela: The coloureds probably like (everyone mumbling)

Jolene: like if I if I like, and someone says oh that persons in an Afrikaans class, I'll be like mm? what? (mumbling)

Michaela: The Afrikaans coloureds, they also seem to stick with each other (Yes) and with themselves.

Jolene: Yes the Afrikaans coloured people they stay, yea they don't go with the English Afrikaans people.

Carla: So do you think the divide is more language than race or?

Danalia: No.

Chante: it's both

Michaela: Its clearly both.

Chante: It could be, but I think its race more.

Michaela: Cause the thing is (inaudible) in own class we mingle like some people, I dunno if you still have mixed classes but we use to have mixed classes then it was fine...

Carla: Why do you say it has to do with race?

Danalia: Because even if our the white people be English, they still go and sit with *those* white people, they wouldn't come sit with us uhm so and I don't think it really has much to do with language.

Jamie: it's almost like

Danalia: and they can understand English and we can understand Afrikaans so that can't be the barrier (mmm, Yea, Ya)

Chante: can't be the language barrier

Jolene: it's the type of people and like when you its hard to describe it but like you said when you looking at the whole gmmm playground and whatever and seeing everybody it's like there's a certain *type* of coloured people that hang out together and it's a certain *type* of white people that you get your your , like ok I don't want to say but upper class kind of so we think white people (yea , ya) you know the ones with the pretty Instagram pictures and iphones (everyone mumbling)

Carla: I've got an I-phone

Jolene: with the long long hair, then you get the white people with the short hair and the not so nice
instagrams

Chante: and the dyed hair (yea), red, blue

Danalia: all, all colours it will be, it will start at white (yea ooo) then it's this blonde that you have
then its brown and then its chocolate brown all on one head (everyone speaking)

Carla: Do they, do they get into trouble for the (inaudible)

Group: nooo

Danalia: White people, this is what its coming to, white people can dye their hair as much as they
want any colour (as much as they want). But let the Xhosa people have braids. they put in
blonde extensions...

Michaela: no no that is not your hair colour, let anyone else

Jamie: Not even us, we can't have highlights in our hair blonde highlights

Jolene: since when is platinum white blonde natural, (ya) please tell me

Carla: So the white students can dye hair any colour

Group: yes

Jamie: There was this one white girl that had dark, well not dark it was brown like light brown hair.
She dyed her hair platinum blonde like...

Jolene: that's ok (inaudible)

Michaela: you have to dye your hair colour that is natural (everyone mumbling)

Carla: ya

Jamie: but you can have 4 colours on the one head is ok

Jolene: yea its fine (inaudible)

Jamie: or or someone has like braids that like blonde then it's a huge problem

Carla: cuz they were telling me that ya

Jolene: a big deal

Jamie: and this whole dip dye thing that went through, Ambre..

Carla: Ambre...

Jamie: unless we do it then it's a problem

Carla: Seriously? Cuz I use to get in trouble with my hair at school cuz I use to get blonde highlights
I just never cared

Chante: I think it depends on the school...

Group: It does it does

Carla: Cuz I got, there was only one, my accounting teacher who would always say ooh nice
highlights but you not allowed to have them, but I'm like I paid for them (mumbling)

Jolene: definitely like there's there's coloureds, whites and blacks and then a minority of Asians, but
then those three groups (I think they just mix in with the coloured ey) ya, and then within
those three groups there's more (background laughing) there's more (inaudible) ya and then
within those three groups there's like sub groups and it's so weird...

Carla: And do you think it's their culture or is it still...

Chante: I don't know.

Michaela: Yea I think it s culture

Chante: we actually gonna mingle with the people or not

Carla: But primarily, what the like do you really still think it's still race?

Chante: I don't think its race I think its culture and language, because Taarique for example, he's white but he's English so I never ever saw him like once mix with the white people (inaudible)

Michaela: thing about him, he grew up in (mumbling)(Jamie: he's like super gam) the southern suburbs which is...

Carla: I use to grow up in the Southern Suburbs, it's very different

Chante: Southern Suburbs people are all mingle with another.

Carla: yea you'll be surprised ey

Michaela: ya but he grew up amongst coloured people soo he's with them...

Jolene: I, I don't know what it is

Carla: mmm that's also true , now because

Chante: now but the teachers miss Oes, when when we coming to class she's like agg is it you guys I enjoyed my, (cuz were the coloured class) my A 3's just now and now you guys had to come and spoil my day (inaudible)

Jolene: And the teacher you know what she says to us like our consumers class, like all the coloureds, there's like only 12 of us or 15 of us small class and we'd be like, "mam can I heat up my food in the microwave?", cuz its consumers microwave...

Carla: ya

Jolene: "ag u know I don't want to smell your food" like your food your *coloured* food I don't want to smell. Then she tells like she doesn't want to smell our food like what is it going to do if you smell our food, and like uhmm , Chante, this one girl was talking about how she was eating her curry but uhmm she said she was eating with her hands which was so nice and then uhmm she was speaking about that and then mam was uhmm "ag that's disgusting, why would you like" like almost looking down on Chante cuz she's a coloured and she was eating with her hand and mam was white. And she was like "ag no nono Chante"

Carla: But I mean the majority teachers, are they white?

Group: yes

Carla: Isis, ok what were you gonna say?

Danalia: Ummm that's a culture thing, lotsa foods have to be eaten with your hands, so...

Jolene: Guys I wonder, do you know how (softly) oh wait I don't know if were allowed to say this though, about miss XXX and her bf...

Michaela: Oh ya,

Jolene: Okay, everyone knows about that, (inaudible) do you think it would be different if she was dating a coloured boy?

Chante: yis

Michaela: she already dated one (mumbling)

Jamie: well she *thought* she dated him

Everyone speaking: they did date date, she thought (laughing)

Carla: I'm so confused, ok, ok who (laughing) ok

Jamie: can we like pause it for a minute then I'll tell you.

Carla: ok wait, lets, I don't know how to pause it

Jamie: Oh no (laughing),

Michaela: she's not gonna? No she not gonna pause it (mumbling)

Carla: I can I can, it's only me

Michaela: Okay, fine, so

Carla: my supervisor is coloured so, (mumbling) ok whose this now?

Jolene: Miss XXX

Carla: Miss XXX, is she a teacher (mmm)

Michaela: my art teacher

Carla: art teacher, talk quickly

Michaela: that all me babe ok, (laughing). She first had like this thang with this other boy, how old was he then?, (18) (mumbling)

Carla: Isis? And she's how old?

Speaker 3: she was in her twenties,(mumbling) she's in her twenties now...

Carla: Ok young teacher

Jamie: very young,(I really thought,)

Carla: ooh, is this the young racist teacher, I've heard about her, who had a who who, in art?

Group: yea, yes,

Carla: apparently, we'll get on that later, Ok?

Michaela: please say cuz like I'm so upset with her right now...

Carla: Apparently Carl was saying that, that the teacher (oh then that definitely her) that was saying that that uhmm apartheid wasn't as bad as everybody thought (clap)

Michaela: Oh my Gosh, do you know how upset that made me!?,(ok, ok)

Carla: Ok, well get ok first first topic ya...

(background mumbling)

Michaela: ya, uhmm she dated oonoo (she had an affair)

Carla: allegedly

Michaela: she had an affair () (laughing) and he was (laughing), she thought she was dating him but he was just (clap) getting the goods and uh (so that was before she gave birth?)

Jamie: his name was her screen saver and stuff and now she's

Carla: and the teachers? They knew?

Jamie: (I don't know) they didn't know a lot about this one, but they know about her current boyfriend was in matric, ya, it was in matric last year, they started dating last year, still with uhmm, what was the concert of last year guys?, (Grease, Greece, that was so terrible), she's she's a drama, she does drama as well, so they started from there and

Michaela: like she goes to his house and stuff and even (inaudible) she showers there...

Speaker 5: but this was before he turned 18 hey (from Mr and Mrs XXX) it's so bad, uhmm this other boy that was in Mr and Mrs XXX she's in charge of that, they uhmm stayed late, and according to her cuz he lives far so then she's like no we can just quickly then go to Arno's house and go and shower there and they, and they uh and, firstly that is so weird...

Jamie: said they got there and the mother was like "Hi", like it's all fine, she was like talking to the mother...

Danalia: the mother, his mother gave like a fridge to her for our art class, I know and there was like, it was just a fridge, (did you, did anybody else?), it's like a full-on like fridge like and she like for netball she like donated these like blankets for the kids and whatever that took netball, she's now a netball teacher.

Carla: jeez she everywhere

Danalia: So then this mother like donated stuff and she just also supportive and stuff and when they went away so then she was living there to like take care of the house *with him* (take care of him too)(ok wait ok there's something else) (inaudible) she pregnant then...

Jamie: naa she's getting fat, now she's fat (She's put on a lot of weight)

Carla: So this is the guy that was in the school last year? Was he white?

Group: Yes

Jolene: he still comes back her like all the time...

Jamie: he's here all the time he doesn't have a like, wait guys (he doesn't know) (you need music, then he's the only DJ in this place) (inaudible)

Michaela: mm I wana tell you guys I think I told Jamey already, we went out once ne, and then she's like "oh my gosh guys you don't wana know what happened today alalalaala" and then she's like "Joke" and she's like (laughing) and then she's like uhmm "my bra broke in the uh the clip broke like..

Carla: I'm sorry she talk about her bra in art?

Michaela: ya.

Jolene: Oh that's not the only thing (inaudible) she tells them that as well...

Michaela: anyway ya the thingy here in the middle broke and then she's like, and then she phoned Arno to go buy her a bra and then she's like "oh Arno was so sweet and he brought it" and then I was like and I looked at Laurence and I was like are you kidding me e ee (laughing) and he just like brought her the bra and I was like it's done, they totally together.

Jamie: that's so funny and they like criticize everything like coloureds do (mm mm) the smallest thing, and it's like they can just do, oh I can't say *they*...

Michaela: say like the, the white people seem to think they can do whatever they want to and like not be judged on in, like we are constantly judged

Carla: but that's what you saying Jolene, you said if it was a coloured?

Jolene: a coloured boy would it be different (as in) well like, because now like it's not ok, that's what I was, it's not ok for a student to date a teacher in asp- it's not- its completely unprofessional, but I'm saying, because he's white all the teachers know about it, but they all kinda just like "aahg, ok yea it's done now" (yea, they all know)

Jamie: Maybe that's why the one with Juandre go further...

Jolene: I think so because I mean he's white, regardless of what race he is, it's not right, you're not supposed to date your teachers that's weird, anyway.

Carla: but I mean

Michaela: It's actually really disgusting, she's so fricken old (she's old, she's old, she is old)
(mumbling)

Carla: but I was gonna ask is she like (everyone talking at the same time) (I think she's 29 now), no sorry she's 29 years old and she's dating an 18 year old?

Jolene: yes, and he not that bad looking that what I don't understand.

Jamie: we should actually feel sorry for him

Carla: isn't that against, no yet..

Michaela: It was against the law last year (When he was 17)

Carla: Ok but now like, ok this I'm gonna have to pause out, but seriously does XXX know about it?

Group: yea, ya

Carla: You lie (I promise you), I'll ask him (no), I won't (inaudible)

Danalia: Can I tell you how I know, uhmm with this drama thing that went on, cuz she was our drama teacher ad she was like being a horrible person, anyway and then it came , that was a very long story, so then uhmm you we were wondering why he was protecting her the whole time then it came out

Carla: by XXX?

Jamie: ya, we found out, he found out about them someone complained (mm)

Carla: obviously (that's normal), I was hoping ya..

Jamie: and then it was gonna go to the WCED...

Carla: mmm normal

Jamie: and then uhmm he covered up so quickly for her because it was gonna make us look bad and he was gonna get into trouble that he has a teacher like this and ever since then she's kinda been like holding it in a weird way against him, so she gets what she wants, has anybody else noticed how she can do whatever she wants to (inaudible)

Jolene: in a meeting with her, she was like when it's weird because when I didn't always take drama because when I had to take it, again long story, but uhmm I went to go meet her with Mr XXX, I think and she was the sweetest person ever, and ya, and everyone was like yea before when I said I was gonna take drama with her "oh my god, Mrs XXX, good luck", she a cow whatever, and then I went to go meet her with Mr XXX, and she's like "awww no, I'm so happy to have you join the pro ane ne nene" and then have class with her and she's like "oh my god that girl Cheveron, she's soo tacky oh my god" (she's such a bitch) and then she's like everybody and then we went into a meeting with Mr XXX and she's like "uhmm guys I have a planned turned out for you and Lindsay I don't understand what what is your problem with me and...

Michaela: that's all the teachers, I think this school is soo like afraid like uhmm like they so over their image man (yes) like so over their image. Like I had this teacher as well she is psycho with a (who is this), Ms XXX, (laughing)

Carla: but are all these teachers now white Afrikaans teachers?

Group: ya, ya all the teachers is is (everyone talking) (inaudible)

Jamie: she's really crazy (inaudible)

Danalia: all about 60 we're about 60 white 60 teachers and like and there is like 3 coloureds the rest is just white

Michaela: and she would like talk about her Vodka shots and like when we were in (mumbling) we were (XXX the coloured van XXX?)(was Ms XXX) (vodka shots?, ya) (Whaat?)

Carla: Why do you say coloured XXX?

Michaela: no I said current

Carla: oh, I was like “now I’m confused”

Michaela: She was first Ms XXX.

Carla: oh ok

Michaela: (and then uhmm)so she married a student’s father, anyway (yes) (laughing) (her stepchildren are in this class) which is why he’s (inaudible)

Carla: so juicy

Michaela: Like I had a complaint a while ago uhmm to Mr XXX we wrote a letter and then we were basically, we weren’t even going to speak to him, we were basically gonna complain to the department (mmm) cuz you hmm, like it was, she was outrageous ...

Carla: ya

Michaela: and then uhmm, but my mommy like wrote a letter and then he called us in and he called me with the teacher and was like “I would love to deal with this here”.

Jolene: soo helpful all of a sudden!

Michaela: and all of a sudden yes she was nice she was like “if you don’t understand like you can speak to me” I was like you’re so (inaudible)

Jolene: yea and this time then you like (laughing)

Michaela: yes and she gave me a hug and I was like, so weird I was like why are you doing this and it just upset me more man, because it’s like why you putting on this front, and it’s like the principal was trying to back her up, cuz he was like explaining to me “she’s always here at school, she’s never absent, she’s a good teacher and” I was like I have no problem with her teaching I have a problem with...

Carla: how, what she says...

Michaela: like what she says and like and how she like acts and like it’s just like so annoying like I was just like no guys like.

Jolene: it's weird, it's like XXX is sooo like obsessed with their image, they want to portray this image of this great school that you know is like soo student-orientated and they just love their students nnooo that's not the case..

Carla: but then what is the vibe you get from the school, is it uhhh? What is the vibe?

Jamie: you know you would wana come to school and be excited to come to school, I mean ok the work like not everyone is like up to like agg doing work every day, but I mean like if the vibe is good at school then obviously we'd be like (clap) motivated (clap) (yea) like come guys lets go to school (yea) they make it soo

Carla: is it the teachers?

Jamie: like they make it soo like hard to like school

Carla: why, are the teachers just boring?

Jamie: (I think it just sucks) some teachers I can say they put effort in, they nice..

Jolene: like our teacher today she went like off her (oh my) head today and it's like we like, I know sometimes when a teacher does have outburst you know you feel sorry for them, but don't go on like like we literally (inaudible)

Jamie: one moment she's like ne nenenene and then BURST out like burst burst out

Jolene: she had like a meltdown in front of us, she like" I'm DONE!"

Jamie: with a krump move like (laughing) like literally she did like a, I don't know what was this (demonstrate) a 180 move like "I'm DONE" like, and then we were like what??

Jolene: and we were like, you know how you look to us right now, most of us are 17 18 years old we are not gonna feel sympathy for you if you tell us we're naughty, we know we're naughty, we know we're irritating, why you telling us? and the she just like stormed out of the class and she just left us, and we were like Ok, kinda did us a favour there, thanks (that's what she does).

Michaela: upsets us, we just like ok...

Carla: but then, but now that's now, that's I always, I mean I knew that use to happen in our class.

Michaela: we not rude also, we are not like disrespectful...

Carla: but do the other teachers in the class like blame the coloured students (we just talkative)
(inaudible) you always get that one student...

Jolene: yea, it depends (laughing)

Michaela: we use to blame the coloured children (use to blame us in class) but you's you's were bad,
(you blamed us, I will still get to that one day, missy)

Jamie: we just like talkative and maybe loud to...

Jolene: but the thing is, today when we were talking, cuz like we were talking, I was talking to mam,
I was answering her question, that's the thing like, it's funny cuz like if we know the answer
to something we like "Oh my GOD, I actually know this answer"(yea, yaa) (If it was me) (ya
that so true) and then it's like everyone wants to be first (yaaa) like, wants to like (and then
you like share it with your friend) yea (like oh it's this answer)...

Carla: so you actually like talking about work (yea), ok but now that we on the topic for in the
classroom now like, I think we talked a little bit last time about uhmm English, and the
literature and stuff that you guys do in class, and (so boring) when poems come out it's the
apartheid issues (always). How do you guys as coloured students feel in the classroom (it's so
boring) when you got the blacks and the whites and now you sitting her like (to be honest I
don't feel, I'm just like ok)

Danalia: nah we so over it, and I think its everyone, I think the white people are a bit uncomfortable,
but the rest of us, it's just like we don't care, it's got nothing to do with us, stop telling me
about it, I don't care

Jamie: yaaa, like get over it, like it's so, it's like I think it's like the department, it's like giving us
everything (I think so too) about apartheid. We know how da, why do you assume like why
do you feel the need to like (inaudible)

Chante: They are keeping it alive, if they stop with it

Danalia: It's like constantly like that in history, it's like apartheid all day everyday

Carla: So you literally didn't choose to do something because you assume apartheid would be in (it's boring, ya, like)

Chante: you see ne in 1989 I learnt about Nelson Mandela like the whole time (every time, same stuff), or its....

Jamie: like we know what happened and its always about uhhh like the poems the black people, they suffered (it's always from the black person's perspective), we all suffered, everyone suffered, except the white except the whites, like they would say ya the whites did this and I can feel like ya (and its always white people) (inaudible) almost like feel for them cuz its like (aaw so awkward) oh look what we did (laughing) like I mean, like it's it's not even relevant to us...

Jolene: and do u know what hey, like cuz I grew up in Europe, I didn't even know what apartheid was to be quite honest, I didn't, I knew it was a word and it came up in our hist. you know what I'm lying, it never came up in our history, never I took, I took history from grade 2 up until grade 10 in Ireland, they never once, Ireland also has a lot of history but we do Russian history we do European history we do every-

Carla: You do history in general, not just south African history, world history.

Michaela: South Africa has to do with South Africa, why, why?

Jolene: you come to South Africa and all of a sudden you got this great divide and all of a sudden and you learn about apartheid, and I'm like, what is this I don't know what this is, like my parents would've mentioned it, like my mom telling me stories about how uhhh like her white friend she couldn't go to their house because, but I never really thought anything of it I just figured oh ok that just happened...

Carla: but then like as coloureds then how do you feel about everything, like do you feel that...

Jamie: I feel like we should really...

Chante: We really just don't care..

Jolene: So why do we have to keep digging it up?

Danalia: I think it's making it worse. When we were younger, people going on about it and throwing excrement at the statues. Stop. Arrrrgh. Stupid people.

Michaela: Ya, you weren't even born yet, what are you going on about (they are affected by it as if)

Danalia: the very people who threw crap or whatever on the statues were the ones who were getting bursaries from his money (exactly exactly) all that money left Cape Town and went to Europe now for stuffies there. Cuz I mean he donated all his money to Cape Town (and you wonder why people think we hooligans) (exactly)

Carla: but that's, that's the thing but now it was most, that's also like how do you guys feel now that UCT thing I can remember cuz my brains' a bit fuzzy, ok so the UCT thing throwing shit at the statue that's what it was (mmm), how do you think it makes you guys look? Was it coloureds? Was it blacks? (mostly black people) but then (black people weren't from cape town) (mumbling) but then, but then why did you say?

Chante: affected like they went through the struggle (laughing) (All South Africa, that people from outside, they come and) (yaya they just way to dark to be South Africans) just to stay on residence they apply to the universities and get jobs and stuff...

Jolene: why, why, why are they making, they are literally making us feel as though we were a part of the struggle, we weren't a part of it, like we, we didn't know what it was like to carry a pass, we didn't know what it was like to not be able to be friends with white people and you want, were suppose to apparently be going up in this new free liberated generation (but were suppose to have our race on applications) exactly, exactly, I spoke about that last time as well, like all of a sudden I came to South Africa and it's like please specify race and I was like "I thought it was just Jolene" (in audible) since when because that only exists in South Africa, you go to anywhere you go anywhere else in the world and they might ask your religion you know, but they will not for anyways in the first place a coloured person doesn't exist in outside of South Africa (ya) so I just think we need to move past it. Because you just digging it up and it like beating a dead dog (inaudible) (people reminding you and like in your face)

Carla: Don't you also feel, I mean the people who keep bringing up apartheid, who do you think they primarily are? (white people)

Michaela: they black! No! they are black people, they are black people who are fricken CEO's, that are ministers, (exactly) everything and who have money, why are you complaining (anything bad happens to a black person, always, oh is it because I'm black)

Jolene: ya, or is it cuz your uneducated and you can't read (mumbling) that's why (ya)

Michaela: you know what they did ne, to the, I dunno I think it was in one of those black towns (townships),mmm they wanted a, they wanted a new library (mmm) and they were rioting and you know how they go on, do you know what they did to try and get a new one, they burned their old on down (gasps) that's what they do (they don't think about their toilets, they break it a part) they break it apart to get new ones.

Carla: But you feel then that the black people give a negative image of you (yes) coloured people, Why?

Danalia :cuz in a way we are like seen like coloureds (inaudible)

Jamie: I don't associate myself (laughing)

Carla: so no, but you don't associate yourself as black?

Chante: For me there's certain types of black, like if you have to say it you get those hooligans types (ya) and you get those Carl type (English thinking) Carl doesn't want to be associated with (he doesn't ya)

Jolene: no but like for real if you, some black people you'll see in the street like they will scream and shout and go on and then like (Carl strives to be white), (my mother thought he was coloured, he's like I'm soo much closer.), but really like when I went to school in Durban like they were some of the some of the friend I made there were blacker, like I'm still friends with them now, they the sweetest girls you will ever meet and then some of them are like aargh they just so in your face like I'm sitting right here you don't have to shout love, like you really don't have to shout..

Michaela: say like this is racist, but I like the English speaking uhmm blacks, (yea) the ones with the accent (inaudible) then basically you can say sounds educated, (inaudible)

Carla: but now do you feel, you say now they educated but the black people who are in school with you guys you feel then it's the parents that are maybe?

Jolene: I feel like they just don't care about anything, cuz when I went to school with them in Durban again, like they would literally be like "mam! Don't tell me!" and they will walk out the class, it's like they (inaudible) ya it's like the white people in Cape Town, that's also another thing that fascinates me about South Africa was that when I came, in Durban its black people everywhere and they were the dominant race and then you come to So- uh Cape Town and now its white people, they are the dominant race and then it's like, where do the coloured people fit in where are we dominant race? (inaudible)

Carla: Even though you actually the most, the most dominant in the country?

Chante: Even though (we are?) like, white people

Michaela: I thought black people are like (inaudible) America's white people, cuz America's white people dominate so I think like oh well, and black people go like (inaudible).

Jolene: I don't even know where we fit into the equation.

Carla: also as coloured people growing up with uhmm, obviously coloured parents I'm assuming, everyone here has coloured parents (assuming, you shouldn't assume) ya, I assume coloured parents (yaa) (white people were in power) (black people were in power), but now do your parents have like stories, that they tell you about apartheid, they were like (inaudible), but like you isititit equated like as bad as hear of the black stories?

Group: Yes.

Danalia: yes, uhmm quite bad, I think of the stories that my parents told, it's really the same as the black stories I hear from my friends that their parents talk about, what I was gonna tell you, my mommy is a nurse, so sometimes there's like nurses that come from like Joburg whatever, anyway so she was telling me about, yesterday then so there's this black lady was like saying like she doesn't understand what's going on like when she's in Joburg they respected her and

when she comes here and then no one cares and people just bump her out of the way, and she just wants to go like back to Joburg and I was like please do, go back...

Jolene: that's how it is but I really think it's like it depends on your environment where you are, because when I'm with my mummy, my mummy works in Vestec and it's like you are not black, white coloured anything, everyone is respected, everyone is treated fairly (where's this in town?) ya it's in town. Everyone is respected, everyone is treated fairly, there no, ok Audette is coloured and Maggie is black and Kim is white, no like (like one in the same), yea like Kim, aunty Kim, she is the-uh head of the team, their uhmm financial team, but she will never say like "AUdette you have to do this cuz your coloured or give aunty Maggie more work because she's black" and do less cuz she's white. SO that's why I say like, I think it's definitely to do with where you are (inaudible)

Michaela: it depends like if you are from a home where like the black children are where their parents are like you know the loud and everything you know you just raised up in that way, you taught that way (also it depends on you if you gonna let that effect you) yea

Carla: but then now when you were saying about the department of- then when you were saying writing stuff to the department of education and stuff. In education as a whole let's say from tertiary to primary to outside, how do you feel race fits in, in education today?

Chante: well first of all there's BEE,

Jolene: and we had to learn about that in business, constantly, everything is related back to BEE. (like work BEE, university BEE) yea, everything, like in business like our long question I'm so certain it's gonna be BEE (It's always BEE) yea everything (oh thanks for the tip) (I never) everything de ne nenene (inaudible)

Carla: all I get is SWOT analysis

Jamie: when I was applying to UCT so then uhmm for Nas I also tried for Nas, so then they ask like Black, I want to tick off the black box and then take my dad with, cuz my dads' like super super dark and like not my mom because my moms' like your colour, that's like my plan and I think it's so wrong like in the first place that they have such a thing like this. These people, it's been like what 20 something years, it's long done (yea) (get over it) stop, stop...

Jolene: and it's not like, I, I, we're not saying that we should forget our history, we should still have like Mandela DAY, not Mandela month please, still have his day to remember our history because our history is who we are, but come on like we can take it out of our textbooks now, we can stop with the apartheid poems we can move on. Because I don't want, if I had to raise children in South Africa, I'm not gonna tell them about apartheid.

Carla: What would you guys like to do in English, if it was an opp- if you could choose, an what –at- at poems, would you like to do film studies (I was about to say that) (inaudible) (great poets like)

Jolene: things that make you feel empowered as a student (things about life, things like woman empowerment) (about love, about stuff that we) poems about breaking up and falling in (yea, human rights) things that we can relate to like anything. Like if there was a poem like if you compare a poem about apartheid and poem about a guy and a girl who is in like a domestic abuse relationship, which one are you gonna pay more attention to?

Carla: the one that you actually more-

Jolene: exactly the one that you're more interested in. If you are reading a novel about this messed-up romance and this messed up friendship and everything, your gonna pay attention to that, you gonna be like oh my god I wana (I hate soppy teenage stuff I'm sorry) I don't mean like soppy I mean like we don't care that Desdemona was less than Othello kill des, that was years ago

Carla: but you know, that's what also so sad to me cuz Shakespeare is such an ama- all Shakespeare is amazing, I mean if teachers just found a way of actually modernising it (yes, ya), cuz it's such a good plot, like Othello is like drama (ya and the mind of Iago) and it's just like it's absolutely crazy (I think it's just really like Iago'swoawoa ah wa) and it sucks, cuz I LOVE Shakespeare (yea) like I love Shakespeare (inaudible)

Jolene: I think, I think it's the way we have to learn, like that's the problem, like you don't want to sit with like thick textbooks like, if we had the chance to maybe like act it out ourselves or read it ourselves then like we'd be more interested (we all had like roles in classroom and then each time it would change and we never sat down)

Jamie: we tried to do that, but it just like don't go, the only way I remember the whole play is cuz I watched the movie

Carla: which is a very good, people always play that down, I've, I've watched all Shakespeare movies (they pretty good ey) and you, if you, if you watch it it gives you the context

Michaela: that's what we trying to say, is they have to modernize like the whole thing

Jolene: yea definitely

Jamie: but you know people now nowadays, when they modernize something, they change the whole story (yea) like whole...

Jolene: yea all of a sudden its (inaudible) (with Leonardo)

Carla: Oh I love that movie !

Michaela: yes but, he has this sword, that (apparently), no he had a gun that was named a sword, that limo that were chariots (ya) (laughing) (and like a lit essay) (a white gangsta is what I saw) (inaudible)

Jolene: If we got topics that were more interesting like or even if they put it in a different way instead of blankly like black and white, discuss de dedede and the effectiveness of (mmm) if they gave it to us in a different kind of way or if they related it to something else then I feel like we can even get better marks becuz we'd put more effort into our tasks and stuff

Carla: guys before, I just need you to fill out one more thing, because I, I didn't even realize we'd been chatting for so long, it's very small, it's just, does everyone have pens (ya, I have) oh ok wait, its just uhmm, when it asks, uhmm are all of you 18? (yea, yes, yea) Are you all 18? (ya) Ok great. Fantastic, then you don't need the, the parental- the parental guidance.

Chante: ooh do you want me to tell you about what she said about apartheid?

Carla: oh yes, yes please tell me about what she said

Michaela: ok, so uhmm, I don't know how it even came up cuz its an art class, art, art, not history, anyway so then uhmm she's like uhmm firstly she doesn't really believe that Mandela went

through the struggle uhmm he was on the island, on Robben Island for, he only only stayed in the prison for three days (gasp) and the rest of the time he was in a house on the island studying law ,l firstly he had law, he had a law degree before he went, that's why he became the head of ANC because he could argue *stupid* anyway and he had a cook, they cooked for him and uhmm she doesn't understand why all these people are so upset about apartheid because like it wasn't even that bad, you could like the black and the coloured

Carla: She spent an entire art class talking about this

Michaela: I actually recorded the whole thing (inaudible), anyway I played it for my parents and my mom was like "what?" she was so upset anyway, uhmm the coloured and the black people could vote (mmm) they just had to pay a certain fee – ya, I don't know where that comes from

Carla: and is she telling this to you or is she arguing with someone,

Michaela: No she's telling us (how long did this-) and then we started arguing because she's just being dumb (yea) and I was like hold up my parents were alive, no your parents couldn't been alive in the (gasp) my dad's like 50 I have a sister that's like 20 something, it's pretty possible, anyway and then uhmm what else did she say, and then she's like yauhmm the white people didn't ever really hold back the people of colour all they had to do was actually just go and ask and actually fight for what like job you wanted to do, they didn't curb you at all, (laughing) and I was like "What!?" like you could go study at varsity if you wanted you just had to work really hard and I was (she's literally squealer) (inaudible)

Carla: No but like seriously? Did an an, but what do you guys, how do you even argue with that though?

Michaela: I argue with that because I saw the movie to what, long walk to freedom (uhmm yea) it was intense like I even (it was so bad) cried, like I didn't even realize like I wasn't born yet, I was like I'm 96 (mm) so to me to like see what happened is actually (emotional) its emotional I mean children like what was that uhh what protest was that (ooh that youth thingy) I mean (inaudible) yes I mean with children being shot and then come on now like that's why (Hektor Peterson?) I think there are photographs of it (like how can she deny all that)

Carla: so but you guys, you guys all recognize that race is a, I mean it is (leave apartheid behind)
(yea) race is an important issue because listen we are all white black or coloured, we are we'll
be naive if we look past that (yea) but I mean ultimately do you guys feel that it should play
such a big role in our education?

Group: no (inaudible)

Carla: but it is, it does (I was upset with her, she's so annoying)

Jamie: I was like uhmm my parents were alive in that time there's proof, so then she starts laughing
at me and she like "My bokkie!" and I was like what, anyway and then she's like uhmm you
weren't alive (inaudible) you arguing with someone who knows that stuff that's on the
internet, that's all a lie,

Michaela: but I'm not saying that all white people are terrible and were terrible in apartheid I'm just
saying like...

Jamie: there were white people who were fighting for people of colours (yea, ya)

Michaela: that's why we shouldn't be like, aaw we hate white people (no), that wasn't the problem

Jolene: all I'm saying is that we are the next generation and as I said I'm not gonna tell my kids
about apartheid. I'll mention it to them like what happened to your grandparents but I'm
gonna gonna stick them down to you have to feel this way or this is apar- like we're gonna
move on and our children will probably not even have a notion about it will just be a word
(hopefully)

Carla: but in this school, so blacks and whites mix?

Group: no. no (never actually seen) (no now that I think about it) (only one)

Jolene: and now that I think about it (Carl doesn't count cuz Carl's basically white) (only one) and
now that I think about it I don't see black and (gasp) guys I never thought about that (never)?

Carla: Sorry if I just like glass shattered everywhere (like windows)

Jolene: no now that I, I've never seen like Q and them like sitting with white people or talking (never), but like total opposites.

Jamie: I think they wouldn't mind like I don't think they would mind (like stigma that's attached to it) ya its like there's so much things like that I think influences one's or how can I say, ya because like clearly your parent they tell you like "don't mix with that person, don't go for black girl or black boy, you shouldn't be talking with them, they are stupid (inaudible) (like lets go marry a black person and you gonnalabola) say things like that....

Carla: my dad does that, whenever he, there's this black parking guard and he's so friendly and then he asked my dad the one time if he can give labola for me, my dad, I don't think he realized that the, I don't I don't know, he's just like ja but how much how much let's talk (laughing) I'm just like standing there with my boyfriend and I'm like (what?, what?) he's a very friendly guy.

Jolene: I just think it's a lot of external influences (ya) that come to the party when you like cuz for us like our parents I mean if our parents had told us about apartheid and told us about struggle and we shouldn't bout white people, we probably wouldn't be sitting here answering questions from a white person, you know what I mean (ya) that's why I'm saying it really depends

Carla: so you guys feel open-minded (yea) do you feel you're more open-minded than white an and black people? (yea)

Chante: I think I'm more open-minded (because we are the mixed race, I mean come on)

Michaela: We the mixed race so we like well so we didn't really like suffer like the black people.

Jolene: the weirdest weirdest thing for me is that if I had to message my friend, any friend from Ireland and say oh guys I'm doing a research project on apartheid, could you help me, "what's apartheid?" that would be their reaction.

Carla: And it kinda sucks cuz it makes us all such negative people (yea) I mean if we just need to go like a few kilometres somewhere else and then realize ha a whole new world (yea yea we did) but now that's a interesting class now if you guys had to choose a school except for XXX to be in, which school would you have chosen (Settlers) Settler? (noonoo) Why Settlers?

Michaela: let me explain why let me explain why, they are soo, I was I was there the other day, they so dedicated and they so uhmm their arts and culture stuff.

Jolene: but Delalia, let's be real they try and put everything like so clean and so (controlling) (they very controlling there) (inaudible) certain type of bag (and bring your Bible every time your assembly) (whose this) musical thing hey and its, ok . In XXX we had Mr and Mrs XXX, there was twirking, there was dancing there was anaconda playing because you know what we are XXX that just us that's our spirit we're live that's us, but then in settlers like you go to their concert and you've already seen, everyone will clap and they'll do high school musical songs, they'll do songs that I promise you has high school musical, they'll make jokes like haa ooh burn and then everyone's like ha hahaha but like you know what those people do after school like they are the worst behaved and that's like why I'm saying like lets be real Delalia like ok they try and put everything like so pure and clean when it's not so clean

Carla: what do you think of the general vibe of this school, what, what, like what culture do you think the school runs as?

Jamie: no there is no culture (there is none) (I think it's just) (inaudible)

Jamie: it's like we come to school and like let's just- (and if somebody had to say)

Carla: and if somebody had to say, ok ask you now, I'm asking you so I'm somebody what uhmm, how can I say, which which no, which race does the school favour?

Michaela: uuuh White (white) (white people) (yes)

Carla: yes obviously? as in like you see it every day ?(uhmm yea) (the teachers that are selected) (whites don't go to T class, whites don't (inaudible) get suspended, whites don't get expelled) (exactly!)

Michaela: 21 years of freedom if we had a coloured principal (hmm mmm)

Jolene: have you seen a white person in the T class before, somebody? (laughing) never (that is so true)

Michaela: even the T class teachers isn't white (ya) (inaudible)

Carla: what? Your time out teacher isn't white? (no she's coloured)

Jamie: she doesn't even – (inaudible)

Jolene: it's basically a prison in school, the walls are not painted there's cement walls and they grey and it's cold (it's like a storage space) yea (inaudible) they wanted to send me to the T class let's just put that out there cuz I don't take Afrikaans and my Afrikaans teacher hates me, Mrs XXX hates my guts because I don't take Afrikaans and I asked her like mam do you hate me cuz I don't take Afrikaans, yes obviously (you can do that?) she doesn't like me so so I uhmm what were we talking or something in class and she was (you were explaining-) yes I was explaining something to her in class and then anyway so she put me out and I'm like mam I'm explaining Bio to Michaela, she put me out long and short and then this other little teacher who is also white comes into the class and Mrs XXX who is also white, is now they're complaining about me and they said uhmm what oh yea, Jolene's also problemed other teachers, Jolene that doesn't get demerits, I've never been to detention like my parents comes to every parents evening and they say that I'm a problem and I must go sit in the T class.

Carla: but this time of class is during education time (yes)

Jamie: ya if you like doing something bad...

Carla: so there's always a teacher in the time-out class (she isn't a actual teacher though, she has no degree) so what do you do there (you know what you do there) So they take you out of educational time (don't lie) to put you in a different class?

(everyone talking):oh yes, then they make it better. biblical studies, ya she's like super religious so. Better people, cuz that seems like a great idea

(Jolene): that what they do and my mummy was like there's no way you're going to sit there, there's no way

Jamie: and like we have detention on a Friday, that's also from half past two till six o'clock and (never been to one, never but still want to) and never EVER see a white person in detention cuz they have an excuse for everything (that's true, Brandon never signed his stuff) (inaudible)

Carla: and black students? Are they in detention(yes) (always)

Chante: I think our Afrikaans teacher is so race in misklop, I don't care what her four children say about her but (the one that takes her kids to the beach house) yes, ya the one that, we we, they don't have we don't have white children in our class anymore so I feel like now it's just the now it's just the coloureds that like she's ok with (we have like guidance teachers) she like, she's always putting on them it's like such crap like absolute crap but she's fine with Carl, (yea, Carl is Carl) and then like Adrian calls her a bitch and then she calls Adrian a bitch and they fine with it (that's fine) that literally happened in class today they fine with it (inaudible)

Jamie : Adrian's like, she will just say "Adrian! Keep quiet, I wana smack you or something" and Adrian's like What? Say that again mam, say that again (inaudible) I don't like her the way that she like just favouritizes, that favouritism (inaudible.)

Jamie: go to Australia

Carla: I wana go to Ireland...

Michaela: is it just me or do you guys also get this at mos from Mr XXX? I dunno if it has to do with apartheid (Hitler) or (I get this Hitler vibe from him)

Jolene: so do I, he stands and then he looks (gasp) when he stands in assembly he walks (mumbling) he walks (inaudible) (everyone knows this) (inaudible) (laughing) literally (clapping) (laughing)

Carla: how old is he?

Michaela: Like ancient, (he's totally white)

Jamie: our register teacher like complains about him als(its sooo-)

Carla: why is it a vide you get, like do you feel uncomfortable in the class? (he's so-

Michaela: basically into nothing he' not evens racing so that's just (inaudible) (disciplined) (cuz he's so like mean even to like my you you saw our teacher (yea yea) (the young own) yea, he's mean (he's so mean to her) that's Filiky too (gasp) (ya) I can't stand him yesterday (oh my god) yesterday or the day before?

Jolene: In our Trig in the day before Mr Roux,

Jamie: so we had an accounting project and he handed the stuff out back to the kids our teacher did it in so they could she did it you can write so they can write their comments and whatever, I stood outside her class for more than 20 minutes while he was explaining, all he had to do was just take the pages and hand it out to the learners, no he's busy explaining about Americas flawed democracy and South Africa, we know this we watch TV we know that they a democracy and a republic and that we are just corrupt, we know this you don't have to explain this this is, take the pages I'm waiting here in the cold 20 minutes I don't wana take like more than 30 seconds of your time (Mr Roux's the exact same) I'm so irritated, (they will let you wait there and you must wait for them) I was doing this with the pages, I was doing this just to get him, and he looked at me and I kept on doing it because common respect

Michaela: the white boys hey, they will like, they will like send you an inbox on facebook ey or a like like your pictures and stuff like (clap) or comment and stuff, (in person) in person Oh my gosh they will walk past you in school (they don't even know you they've never seen you in their life) they won't even look at you like they look one way (hmm mm), look one way

Carla: but how does it make you feel?

Jamie: It's like what is wrong with me (laughing) I feel like it's just here cuz like (inaudible) (it's two different people) nothing, nothing the white boys or the white girls (mm) but then if you have to go to the club behind all the white girls like (inaudible)

Carla: like in my school as well I have like a lot of coloured friends it's never even an issue (no) my grandfather he was a bit shocked at first but (to deal with it) (aww well you can expect that) I handled it very quickly (laughing) I literally asked me cuz I filmed my birthday party (inaudible) but the family likes the film thing and then I had I mean it was mostly guys but there was like four coloured, but the one was like you know the Indians that look black (yas) (gasp) (the Durban) (yes) (the Durban) my grandfather was just like well what are they doing at your party but (they your friends) sorry and we had a family party and was just like sorry what? And I was just so disrespectful with my grandfather but it's fine, he then had a heart attack and , that sounds terrible (gasps) he had a heart attack and black people helped him (oh) get back and since then he stopped being racist, that's why I said yoh it sounded bad (ya) (inaudible) are they locking up?

Chante: no they just closing the-

Jamie: Brandon Valentine last year ne he inboxed me on facebook and he was like ya, wait, I think you such a, such a special girl and I would like to get to know you and stuff (I had that exact same incident where he (inaudible) Alfonzo cuz I sit next to Alfonzo and then he's like (gasp) who's laughing so loud so Alfonzos' like it's Jaimy, so he said the exact same thing, he said I'm gam (mmm) (inaudible) (mumbling) like why would he inbox me and then and then at school look at me like uhhgg.

Chante: and like the other day he was doing his English omni break of Miss XXX (inaudible) and then I came in there and he's like, oh this girls name I don't even know (and he's been in class with her since grade 8) (he's so rude and he'll never sit detention)

Carla: and that's what you get from the white people (yip) yussus white people (inaudible)

Jolene: nice like Nina and Kyle and them they like ya (the nice ones)

Michaela: nice white people are the people from the Southern suburbs cuz they like English speaking and then

Carla: but that like the only thing I've realized now I never had to until a few weeks ago when I first started here I never knew people distinguished between whites English and whites Afrikaans (yes! There's a huge difference) (no nono they) (inaudible)

Jamie: Germans and those European people that came here, though close to those whites are the boer whites (the Afrikaans ones are stuck in their ways) (they are far too white)

Carla: Cuz whose that one that I interviewed? Carlo? (Cami, Cami, then you get Telana) (the really nice ones sometimes, the really nice Afrikaans ones) (in our art class ey)

Carla: (ringing) Sorry that's me, it's my mother (ringing) there's my phone (ringing) Hi mommy, I'm still at the school mom, ya ok, k bye. I will bye. (cute man) (that's so adorable) ya I'm a bit obsessed with cats guys and my boyfriend always laughs at me, still love my cat. Ok guys I realize now that we've been speaking for almost a hour and ten minutes, uhmm but let me stop this.

